

T.C.
UNIVERSITY OF GAZİANTEP
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

**GLOBAL ENERGY PROJECTIONS
AND
TURKISH ENERGY FOREIGN POLICY AFTER THE
COLD WAR**

M.A.THESIS

ZEYNEL ABİDİN POLATTAŞ

GAZİANTEP
JULY, 2019

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SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ANA BİLİM DALI

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Zeynel Abidin POLATTAŞ

Tez Danışmanı : Dr.Öğr.Üyesi Aslı ÖZPOLAT

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POLICY AFTER THE COLD WAR

ZEYNEL ABIDIN POLATTAŞ

Date of Viva: 02.07.2019

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences


Doç.Dr.ZekiyeANTAKYALIOĞLU
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master's of Art.


Dr. Mesut ŞOHRET
Head of Department

This is to certify that I(we) has(have) read this thesis and that in my(our) opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master's of Art.


Dr. Ashi OZPOLAT
Supervisor

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master's of Art.

Examining Committee Members:

Assoc.Prof.Dr. Ahmet KESER

Dr. Ashi Özpölat

Dr. Ferda Nakipođlu ÖZSOY

Signature




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ZEYNEL ABİDİN POLATTAŞ

Tez Savunma Tarihi: 02.07.2019


Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Onayı


Doç.Dr. Zekiye ANTAKYALIOĞLU
SBE Müdürü

Bu tezin Yüksek Lisans tezi olarak gerekli şartları sağladığını onaylıyorum.


Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Mesut ŞÖHRET
Enstitü ABD Başkanı

Bu tez tarafımda okunmuş, kapsamı ve niteliği açısından bir Yüksek Lisans tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.


Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Aslı ÖZPOLAT
Tez Danışmanı

Bu tez tarafımızca okunmuş, kapsam ve niteliği açısından bir Yüksek Lisans tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.

Jüri Üyeleri:

Doç.Dr. Ahmet KESER

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Aslı Özpölat

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Ferda Nakıpoğlu ÖZSOY

İmzası




ABSTRACT
GLOBAL ENERGY PROJECTIONS AND TURKISH ENERGY FOREIGN
POLICY AFTER THE COLD WAR

POLATTAŞ Zeynel Abidin M.A. Thesis, Department of International Relations
Supervisor Assistant Professor. Aslı ÖZPOLAT July, 2019, 118 pages

Economies are more linked than before because of globalization and in this sense this make many international actors to engage in interactions. So, energy and energy independence are very important for the all economies. Energy is a risk and security problem of economies which is called “unprecedented uncertainty”. So, energy policy is a kind of war arena in which some players are in and some are out within the mentioned context above, the aim of the study is to show up how energy resources and diversifications brings different energy policies, power struggles and outcomes. In this study, it is tried to be explained how energy and geopolitics is inter connected with each other. This study’s goal is to understand and investigate how energy strategies and geopolitics of global powers’ shape the world policy and change the Turkey’s position in this geopolitical war game. In this study, qualitative research method, document analysis and descriptive analysis technique were used.

According to this, this study consist of sixth chapters. In the First Chapter, energy and globalization were explained. In the Second Chapter the concepts of Energy and International Relations were explained. In the Third Chapter, energy transportation trends, energy investments and important regional energy projections were explained together in the context of security. In The Fourth Chapter, The Energy Projections of Global Power States’ were being disclosed. In The Fifth Chapter, The Energy Role of Turkey was explained together with the context of his regional/security relations. In the last part, discussions and conclusions were made about the subject. The study aims to offer both a definition and analysis of the Global Energy Projections together with the Turkish Energy Policy. The study will show how the energy will play a significant role in today’s new Post Cold War period in the world policy in the following years.

Key Words: Energy, Power, Energy Policy, Global Powers

ÖZET

SOĞUK SAVAŞ SONRASI GLOBAL ENERJİ PROJEKSİYONLARI VE TÜRK ENERJİ DIŞ POLİTİKASI

POLATTAŞ Zeynel Abidin Yüksek Lisans Tezi ,Uluslararası İlişkiler ABD.
Tez Danışmanı Dr.Öğretim Üyesi Aslı ÖZPOLAT Temmuz 2019, 118 sayfa

Küreselleşme ile birlikte, Uluslararası Aktörlerin ilişkilerinden dolayı ekonomiler günümüzde daha fazla içiçe geçmiş durumdadır. Bu nedenle enerji ve enerji bağımsızlığı bütün ekonomiler için önem arz etmektedir.

Enerji, tüm ekonomiler için dünyada belirsizlik ve öngörüsüzlüğe yol açabilen bir risk ve güvenlik problemi konumundadır. Enerji konusu; bazı oyuncuların içeride bazılarının dışarıda kaldığı bir savaş oyun arenasını şeklinde görünmektedir. Bu çalışma da; enerji kaynaklarının ve çeşitliliğinin, dünyada farklı enerji politikaları ve ülkelerarası güç mücadelelerine yol açtığını göstermenin yanısıra, enerji ve jeopolitikanın içiçe bağlantı halinde olduğu açıklanmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu çalışmada ayrıca; enerji stratejilerinin ve global güçlerin jeopolitikasının, nasıl dünya siyasetini ve Türkiye'yi bu jeopolitik savaş oyunundaki pozisyonunu değiştirdiğini araştırılması ve anlaşılması amaçlanmıştır. Bu çalışmada, nitel araştırma yöntemi, doküman inceleme ile birlikte betimsel analiz tekniği kullanılmıştır.

Dolayısıyla çalışma altı bölümden oluşmaktadır. Birinci bölümde enerji ve küresel ilişkiler açıklanmıştır. İkinci bölümde ise enerji ve jeopolitika kavramları açıklanmıştır. Üçüncü kısımda enerji nakil çeşitleri, enerji yatırımları ve önemli bölgelerdeki enerji projeksiyonları güvenlik kavramı ile beraber ele alınmaktadır. Dördüncü bölümde ise Küresel Güç konumundaki devletlerin enerji projeksiyonları açıklanmıştır. Beşinci bölümde ise Türkiye'nin enerji rolü bölgesel ilişkiler ve güvenlik bağlamında açıklanmıştır. En son Altıncı bölümde ise araştırma konusuna ilişkin açıklamalar ve değerlendirmelerde bulunulmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler : Enerji, Güç, Enerji Politikası, Küresel Güçler

ÖNSÖZ

Uluslararası İlişkiler Anabilim Dalı Tezli Yüksek Lisans program dahilinde hazırlanmış olan “Soğuk Savaş sonrası Global Enerji Projeksiyonları ve Türk Enerji Dış Politikası“ başlıklı tez çalışması boyunca, benden tecrübe ve katkılarını esirgemeyen danışmanım Dr.Öğretim Üyesi Aslı ÖZPOLAT’a ve bana manevi olarak destek olan aileme, eşim Hande POLATTAŞ’a sonsuz teşekkürlerimi sunarım.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi)	AKP
Saudi Arabian Oil Company	ARAMCO
Association of Southeast Asian Nations	ASEAN
Turkish Oil Pipelines Corporation	BOTAŞ
British Petroleum	BP
Brasil, Russia, India, China, South Africa	BRICS
Black Sea Economic Cooperation	BSEC
Baku-Tiflis-Ceyhan Natural Gas Pipeline	BTC
Baku-Tiflis-Erzurum Natural Gas Pipeline	BTE
China National Petroleum Corporation	CNPC
Collective Security Treaty Organization	CSTO
The European Coal and Steel Community	ECSC
Energy Information Administration	EIA
Energy Investment of Italy	ENI
East Siberia Pacific Ocean	ESPO
European Union	EU
Fetullahçı Terör Örgütü	FETO
Gulf Cooperation Council	GCC
Gross Domestic Product	GDP
Gas Exporting Countries Forum	GECF
International Energy Agency	IEA
Indian Oil Corporation	IOC
Iraq Syria Islamic State	ISIS
Liquefied Natural Gas	LNG
Multinational Corporation	MNC
North America Free Trading Area	NAFTA
North Atlantic Treaty Organization	NATO
Non-Governmental Organization	NGO
Organization for Economic Cooperation Development	OECD
Organization of Petroleum Exporting	OPEC
Paralel Devlet Yapılanması	PDY
Partiya Karkeren Kürdistanê (Kurdistan Workers Party)	PKK
People's Republic of China	PRC
Regional Security Complex Theory	RSCT
Shanghai Cooperation Organization	SCO
State Oil Company of Azerbaijan Republic	SOCAR

Trans Anatolian Natural Gas Pipeline Project	TANAP
United Arab Emirates	UAE
United Kingdom	UK
United Nations	UN
United States	US
United States of America	USA
Union of Soviet Socialist Republic	USSR
World War Two	WWII
Yekîneyên Parastina Gel (Kurd Armed Organization in Syria)	YP



FIRST CHAPTER - INTRODUCTION

Energy is the core of today's global world. The life without electricity or gasoline is impossible. Due to its importance holding and having these resources are very crucial for the states. During the World War I and II It can be easily seen that how the sharing of world mine resources are important. Besides that, with the invention of machines and fast energy The Industrial Revolution had changed the world's economic structure. The dependency of states to energy and energy raw materials are getting increases in everyday. The energy competition through states; forces every states to shift their political axis in a different way. To able to sustain their existence economically and politically, energy is an indispensable source for states. Since the Industrial Revolution and the formation of EU as a Coal and Steel Community always energy resources always have become the first priorities of the states.

The first earliest formation of EU was about of a coal and steel union in 1951. In those years, European states had decided to shift in a common coal and steel production among each other and had transferred their authority called European Coal and Steel Community. For instance, the oil crisis in 1973 and in Israel-Arab conflict, All these events were somehow connected with energy. This event had showed how energy card could be used as a political weapon by states. In addition to that, Iran Revolution in 1979-80 and Gulf Crisis in 1990 can be other examples.

The global tension throughout the world mainly related with energy resources such as oil and natural gas. Therefore, global energy, geopolity and world security are more related with each other. For this reason, Turkey's role as transit route country should increase its important regional and strategical role and follow a balance and power strategy in the world among world global powers. Turkey acts as a bridge between West and Russia with balancing them. It is obvious that the security

of energy supply is a critical issue that will concern scientists for the years to come, as energy could be considered as “the global lever”.

After The Cold War, with the collapse of Soviet Union in 1991, the geopolitic structure of the world had changed. From that time, Western European countries felt their self more secure than the until that time. USA had been only super hegemonic power of the world. When the 11th September terror attacks were happened in USA and it is clear that USA ‘s new enemy was “ Terror”.

The World is now in a bi-polar situation with USA hegemony but terror was the new enemy of this bi-polar world. After the sudden ISIS terror attacks , armament in the world had been also increased. In addition to that, China is the new opponent of USA in the sense of new economic battle.

The Arab Spring which was started in 2010 and its influence had been observed in the other countries such as ; Egypt, Tunisia, Syria and Libya . After the start of these events the barrel price of oil had increased from seventy to eighty dollar to one hundred dollar. Today, World demographic and ethnic structure had changed a lot. With the start of Syrian War in 2011, with protests today all countries had faced immigration problem. Especially Turkey and some Europe and Arab countries faced with refugee problems.

The Ukrainian Crisis that happened in 2013 can not be thought without energy factors. Finally, the 2017 Qatar Crisis following with Saudi Government crisis which is going on is always happening in the same region called Middle East. These two examples are showing that energy is the leading actor which causes potential political crisis. Today, Qatar has the highest LNG capacity in the world. In global trade because of its cheapness sea trade is being preferred more than road. It can not be analysed all these developments apart from energy resources; such as oil and natural gas. So it easy to understand today’s Gulf Arab Crisis. The Strait of hormuz and Bab-el Mandeb are the strategical transition points of carrying oil. When it is observed that the power struggles of global powers in these areas easily understood how jeopolicy had been active in international relations (Sandıklı, 2017:35).Energy geopolitics is not only related with the geographies which are connected but also it effects to the whole world countries which have energy supply/demand actions.

The important point is the energy supply and access to energy resources now became a national security subject of national states. The dependency need to the

energy resources especially oil, make global powers more aggressive and hegemonic than past. As it is seen above, energy security and protection of energy routes had become very crucial for national states. Carrying of energy transport routes through pipelines has been the main task of foreign policy and economy strategy of countries. Huge economies such as USA, EU and China which consumes most of world's oil are now in a hidden war engagement.

The famous strategist called, Mahan had invented the term 'sea geopolitics' and developed time by time (Özey, 2017: 8) . Today's most important and strategic source is the energy. The main security concern is the allocation of energy resources (oil, natural gas and etc.) The World is still in oil dependency. Natural gas provides clean energy and dependency to these resources are getting increase in each day. Increasing number of scholars had shifted their attention to energy-politics and former geopolitical theories. The Middle East and Africa still have rich oil and hydro-carbon reserves and Eastern Mediterranean still is a important transport route for energy transportation. Russia's invasion of Crimea resurrected Realism in world politics with particular emphasis on geopolitics. To rephrase Mackinder's infamous statement, "the energopolitical pivot of history" is shaping contemporary world politics (Özey, 2017: 12) . It is important to show up how the new energy blocks and agreements will effect the policies of the states, especially that of Turkey's. The study aims to offer both a definition and analysis of the Global Energy Projections together with the Turkish Energy Policy. The study will show how the energy will play a significant role in today's new Post Cold War period in the world policy in the following years.

In this study, both energy sharing and global power struggle are connected and each state will play a strategical role were explained. Economic advantages will cause in new political blocks or enemies which had happened exactly the same in World War II and in Cold War. The study consist of energy politics literature and combination of models of geopolitics and energy politics.

The goal of the study is to underst how energy and geopolicy is interconnected and to reflect the decisive factor of geographic resources in world politics. Therefore, in this sense Turkey should use its geographical advantage in world politics especially in today's international politics conjuncture.

Especially after the dissolution of USSR with The Cold War period, many independent states had emerged in Central Asia. Besides that, many regional economic and political cooperations had been begun to establish. After the end of The Cold War, the threat and security perceptions in the world had changed. Therefore, states had clarified their foreign policy strategies according to this new conjuncture. The aim of this paper is to analyze medium- and long-term energy policy scenarios and projections of today's global world.

In this study, the energy politics of the both world and Turkey was tried to be explained by doing with international theories and current international events. In this respect, in the second and third chapters energy and its relations with security and geography was explained. In the fourth chapter global states energy projections were analysed. In the fifth part, Turkey's energy policy was explained with geographical aspects. The last sixt part is the result and discussion and part of the thesis.

The hypothesis of this study, is to implement how the energy geopolicy of the states are shaping world politics in both being an ally or enemy with each ohter in the world politics. In addition to that, it has been explained how Turkey's energy policy will bring him into a being a regional power and in a sensitive balance position.

The aim of this study is, to explain how energy and world policy are interconnected. Besides, that, Turkey's strategic role as an 'energy hub' were tried to be analysed and was showed that how this 'hub role' is so important to increase Turkey's political and economical deterrence both in the region and in the World politics.

SECOND CHAPTER ENERGY & GEOPOLITICS

2.1. ENERGY CONCEPT

In this part, energy and its historical evolution, together with its global projections will be explained. There are mainly three energy sources: fossil, renewable, and fossible. The fossil energy sources are petroleum, coal, natural gas, bitumens, oil shales, and tar sands; the renewable energy sources covered are biomass, solar, wind, geothermal, and hydropower; and the fossible energy sources are uranium and thorium. After the 1600's century, the coal was used as the basic source of energy. With the Industrial Revolution in 1850's the rapid industrialization had opened the way of using coal and steel. After the 1870's coal was replaced by oil in most of the industry. The Anglo-Pers Oil Company had started first oil production in Iran in Basra Gulf. (Ozmen, 2014: 766).

The energy resources such as; coal, natural gas and oil are defined as primary energy resources. Energy is an indispensable source for human beings to satisfy their energy needs and today it is very important for countries to having these resources especially with the following of Industrial Revolution, the need for energy has been so much increased. The consumption of energy is a general need for today's people. Fossil fuels still represent over 80% of total energy supplies in the world today, but the trend towards new energy sources are clear in the future with the new technological developments. Oil and Natural Gas are two important resources of Fossil Energy.

In each day, and year the need for these two resources are increasing in the world arena. Energy is the most important factor for the economy of the countries. The demand for energy resources had been increased due to the factors, such as population, industrialization and globalization. Today, from industry to transportation and in defence sector, energy is being used. From an international

relations perspective, the subjects such as; the role of energy, energy resources and lines, energy/regional security, conflicts are important. Energy is a strategical weapon which is used by countries.

“ The people who can not remember the past has to experience them again”

G. Santayana. If it is remembered that Mackinder’s infamous statement, “the energopolitical pivot of history” is shaping contemporary world politics. “Natural resources with geographical factors and also acquisition and distribution of these resources are important”. (Özey, 2017: 12)

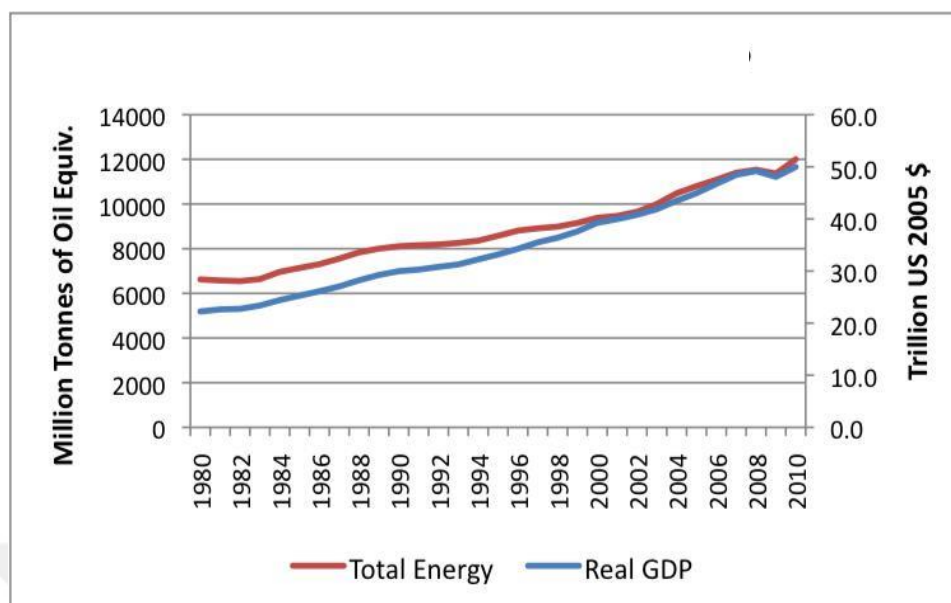
The study of power relationships from past to, present and future. A study of the relationship among politics, demography and economics with respect to the national foreign policy. In this sense, natural resources and geographical factors are important. Due to the globalization, economic growth is increasing rapidly throughout the world. Energy is the main element in the social and economical development of all countries.

There is a right proportion between economic development and having energy resources. There are compelling reasons to believe interest in the *politics of energy* will remain strong. OPEC was created in 1960 and IEA was created in 1974. All these formations of international organizations shows that energy is a kind of net which connects all states and cutting these nets is leading confrontations in some part of the world. Fossil Fuels(Oil, Natural Gas and Coal) shares approximately %90 of world’s energy consumption. (CEE,2004: 37). The estimated population growth will be 8 billion in 2020 (CEE,2004: 37). That will cause huge consumption of oil in end use. The estimated global oil demand rate will be, 111,1 million barrel per day in 2040. In Today’s political conjuncture; for having energy, there is a hard, brutal struggle and battle between states. There is a parallel and right proportion between having energy resources and the economic development and richness of states. Today, oil is the most important resource for industrial development.

The fossil residues are the basic elements for energy resources such as; coal, oil and natural gas. The fossil energy resources are the most used energy sources in today. Middle East have the richest oil reserves in the world.

The International Energy Agency (IEA) estimates that \$26 trillion dollars of investment will be required through 2030, to meet the growth in energy demand, most of which is underpinned by the improving standards of living of huge populations in the Asia-Pacific and the Middle East. (IEA Report, 2009: 65). Gilpin (1981) argued that resource competition is an important driver of state behavior.

Figure 2.1.: World Total Energy And Real Gdp



Source : www.ourfinitemworld.com

The figure 2.1. shows the total world Energy GDP (Gross Domestic Product) per million tones. There is right proportion between Real GDP and oil consumption. Especially, in global super powers such as USA and China there is a casualty between the energy consumption and economy. USA and China have huge economies and with their big industry capacity they consume the oil most in the world.

After 1900's with the shift from coal to oil this also had caused changes in the world energy geopolity. Especially the crisis in 1960-1970s and The Gulf War, Middle East always played the main role. The basic reason for that is so clear that the rich oil reserves are exist in this region. Energy dependency of the states had created many world crisis and wars in the past.

2.2. GEOPOLITICS

Geopolity can be described generally as a "political area" . Geopolity is a way which helps most of the states to determine their strategies. According to Cohen, a USA geographer (1947-1951) ; political geography helps to analyse the interaction between geographic structures and perspectives in international relations (Özey, 2017: 12).

The geography is important for states in terms of their security development and perceptions. The geopolitic perception of states can be changed. In certain

periods, the military priorities can be a major mechanism and sometimes the economic interests can be priority. For instance, during The Cold War, USA and USSR mostly read the geography in terms of military competition. However, today especially in terms of having energy resources the economic priorities are most important (Sempa, 2002: 54). In Today's international conjuncture, the economic interests and security & threat perceptions are the main decisive factors. To ensure their economic and political security and to protect their economic and political interests against threats, states are following "geostrategies". Where the states are focusing their geopolitical interests on the map.

Geopolitics is a kind of instrument or a tool that helps the states to shape their foreign policy. It is a very dynamic analysis system. The interaction or relation between geography and policy. The term geopolitics was first used by Rudolf Kjellén.

However, the first study about geopolitics which was accepted by authorities was the "land hegemony theory" of Halford Mackinder (Özey, 2017: 12). Geopolitics observes the today's and future's relation between physical & political geography. The control of strategic lands is important for states in terms of determine their foreign policies. The connection of geography with both economy and politics is important. The impact of geography on the power correlation of states. The geographic factors in terms of strategic places and resources in the world. Geopolitics is the struggle about the control of the locations and places. "Geopolitics is the way to see the world" (Özey, 2017: 9).

The geopolitic order of a Cold War, was an ideological geopolitics. Today it can be definite as a "energygeopolitics". Geopolitics interpret political issues to justify and explain in regard of geographical data. The geographical position, the morph of land, scarce reserves and resources are the subjects. It explains the effects of having natural or energy resources in the international politics or reflects the distribution of these resources. Geopolitics study political-environmental role in the concept of power.

The relation between power, geography and politics are real. The synthesis of these three concepts forms the geopolitics. The international conflicts, rivalries, battles, crisis, wars all of them can be included under umbrella of geopolitics. In addition to these, threats and security perspectives are also related with geopolitics. Three dimension of geopolitics:

- Politics
- Power
- Geography

Geography is the stage for human interaction on a specific geography. Geography brings threats and political and economical opportunities for states. The energy scarcity in the world force countries in an inevitable competition game. Energy geopolitics studies the role and impact of energy in different geographies.

To 'secure the area' is an another expression of geographic competition (Abdel-Hassan, 2018: 72). Territory as a 'bounded space' express itself in a politic and economic dimensions of a certain country. Geopolicy is deal with the interaction among states or empires in a certain particular geography. According to some theorists; world politics is a continuing contest between land powers and sea powers. For Saul Bernard Cohen; another geopolitist; geopolicy is the analyse of interaction between political process and geographic conditions and perspectives (Özey, 2017: 23).

2.2.1. The Theory Of Land Hegemony

The British geographer Halford John Mackinder; argues that the rational political geography was built upon the physical geography. Mackinder, for example, foresaw in the early 1920s, and in 1943, the emergence and formation of the North Atlantic Alliance that was founded in 1949 (Özey, 2017: 15).

He argues that, it had been very necessary for a geographer that to look and observe the past, then He can interpret the present and future developments. He pictures Europe and Asia as a one continent which means they are continuous part of each other. He defines the Euro-Asia region as a "pivot region" or "pivot state" . For him; the outcome of the great wars in the history are the unequal growth which leads unequal distribution of world resources. As a result; in today's political struggle geopolicy is the most effective element in international relations.

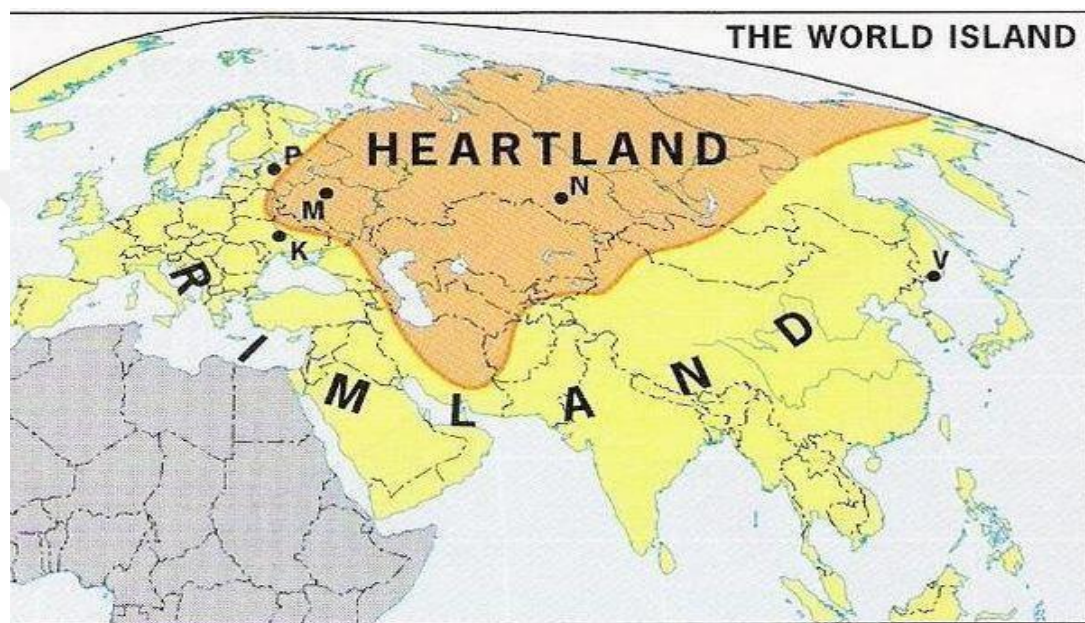
Geopolicy is a kind of core in today's globalization process. The codes of political developments can be read easily and truly with the help of geopolicy. Mackinder defends that the future global world hegeomony will be controlled only by states who have land geographical powers (İşcan, 2004: 60). Mackinder defined the Eurasia landmass as "Geographical Pivot of History" (İşcan,2004: 60). For him, this area is the central power gravity and "world land" . These areas are from East

Siberia, in West Volga in North Ice Sea, and in south Himalayas. According to Mackinder; these areas are controlling the center areas:

1- Inner or Marginal Crescent Rimland: Germany, Austria, Balkans, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, India and China.

2- Outer or Insular Crescent Outer: England, Northwest Africa, Australia, United States and Canada.

Figure 2.2: Heartland And Rimland



Source : www.csef.ru

The figure 2.2. shows the Heartland and Rimland geographies according to Mackinder and Spykman theories.

According to geopolitician Sir Mackinder; the state who can control Europe-Asia-Africa hinterlands can control the world (Özey, 2017: 14). For him, a hegemonic super power is a state who can be powerful both in land and in sea. He says the only state who can success this was Russia. Russia possess the 'Hinterland' that because Russia stands at the corner point of China to India. Because He has a huge mass land and He has an easy opportunity to reach Black Sea and Oceans. Mackinder says that; who can rule the East Europe can rule the Hinterland, who can control the Hinterland can control the World Island, and finally who can control the World Island can control the World.

The other geopolitist Brezinski a man who was born in Warsaw in 1928, was an National Security Advisor of USA President Carter during 1970's. Brezezinski's world-view, "geographic location is still shows a nation-state's external priorities, and the size of national territory also determine one of the major criteria of status and power (Tuğrul, 2010: 12). "Actually, this explanation best fits with the Russian Federation which have huge land mass and special status for both Central Asia and East Europe. According to Brezinski; Eurasia is a grand chess board for international politics. Brezezinski had emphasised that for USA, to carry on its hegemony in world politics, USA should focus on Eurasia continent on 21th century. Brezinski had argued that; USA should had prevent any power to be a hegemonic power other than USA. For this reason He had said that USA should develop a geostrategic policy towards Eurasia.

It can be seen the above explanations as an example in the issue about the status of Crimea and Ossetia-Abhazia. It was important at this point in regard of the recent international crisis. He believed the necessity of Eastern European countries for taking political support of USA and West together with cooperation among each other. It is impossible to study of international relations without escaping geography. The Mackinder's key concepts, closely related with the emphasis on relative advantage of land power over sea power.

Sea power, according to Mackinder, is ultimately dependent upon a powerful land base. Mackinder describes the "Heartland" of Eurasia and referred to the Eurasia –Africa landmass as the "World Island" . For him; the meaning of the control of this geography makes the single state a super hegemonic power in international scene.

In terms of technology, for Mackinder transportation, railways (today pipelines) will facilitate men's expand to larger geographies. In today's political conjuncture; it can easily be seen that how energy projects and pipelines through borders make states easy to reach most of the large geographies. For Mackinder, land power is more important than sea-power.

2.2.2. The Theory of Sea Hegemony

Another American theorist and analyst Alfred Thayer Mahan; his arguments are important for understanding how geopolicy is being formed and important. He is an old amiral and historian. According to him "sea power" is essential and

indispensable factor for being a hegemonic power, according to him; unless you have power on oceans you can not be a dominant actor in world politics. He developed the argument of “philosophy of sea power” (Özey, 2017: 13). He says that; the preeminence of a power is dependent on a powerful navy, unless you have a control over seas you can not control strategic choke points in the world map. For instance; it seems to be easy to understand why USA wants to control Pacific Ocean and The Strait of Hormuz (where most of %60 oil pass). He emphasises that; the distance of a country to the oceans and the geographic location of a country to the oceans is important. During his period, in late 1700’s Alfred Mahan was deeply impressed from the British Colonial system which had been based heavily on navy force. According to Mahan, the world battle will be between British and Russian navy forces (İşcan, 2004: 65) . He emphasised the importance of 30th and 40th parallels of Asia as a “power struggle area” (İşcan, 2004: 65) . He argues that both USA, England and Germany will control the oceans and encircling Russia and China they will capture the world hegemony. Mahan insisted on the superior importance of sea hegemony over land hegemony. Therefore, He had emphasised on the importance of navy force and He had directed and impressed the growth of U.S navy. Mackinder called Eurasia “the Great Continent (Sempa, 2002: 45).”

Brezhnevski calls it “the mega-continent”. Most of the key events in the world history had occurred on the Eurasian landmass or one of its offshore islands (Baykent, 2000: 10). For him; East Europe is somehow central gravity of the world politics. If a country can rule The East Europe He can rule The World (Sempa, 2002: 54).

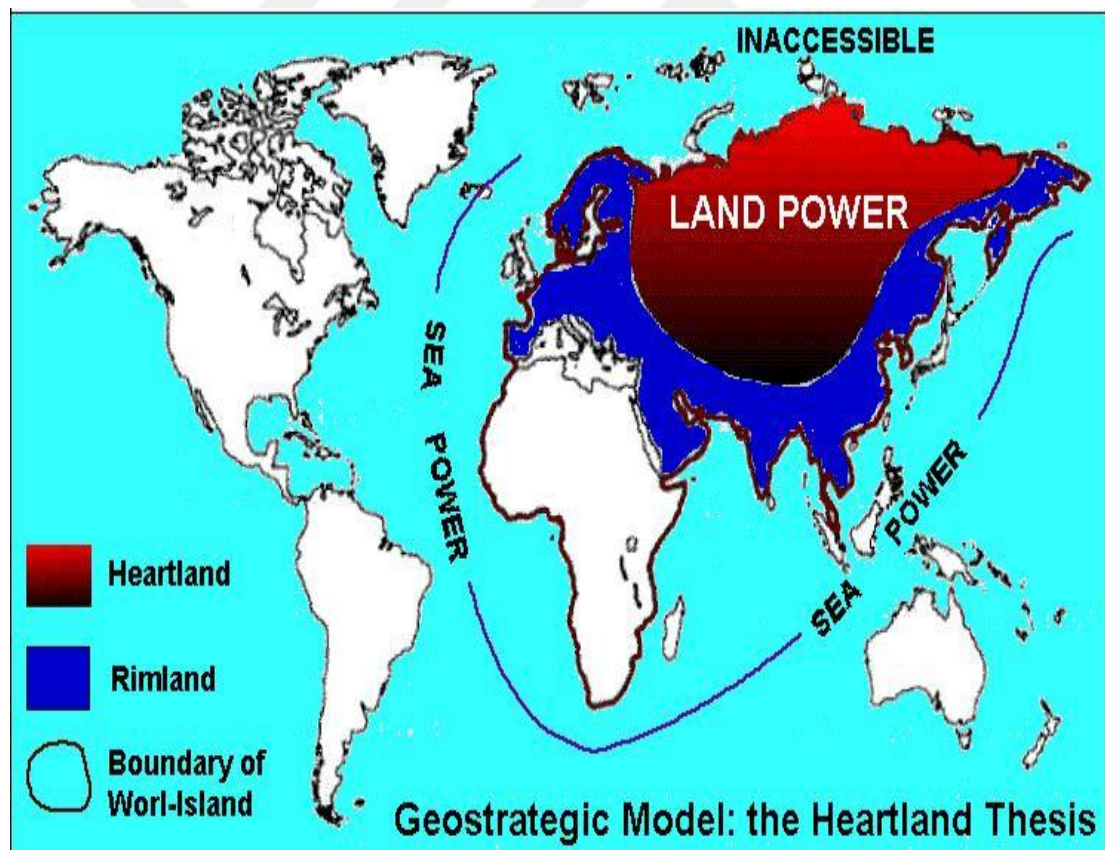
It was seen in The Cold War, how East Europe is sensitive and important for both Russia and USA. The Eurasian rimland is divided into geopolitical regions: Europe, the Middle East, Southwest Asia and East Asia-Pacific Rim. For him, only USA is a global power because only the economic development rate is not sufficient for a country to be a global power (Sempa, 2002: 37). In addition to that, He says to be a global power you should have a huge military capabilities. So, He argues that, only USA have this capabilities. This factor makes USA a global super-power. Both Mackinder and Brezhnevski have emphasised the importance of controlling the major power centers of Eurasia. Especially the close cooperation of Iran, Russia and China disturbs USA. In addition to that, the tensions with North Korea prevents USA to

play the game as a hegemonic power. Especially USA is very sensitive about an possible Japon-China rapprochement.

2.2.3. The Theory Of Rimland

An American academician called Nicholas Spykman, had developed this theory after the World War II, especially for defending U.S. interests in world politics. According to him, the real control is in Rimland (West Europe, North Africa, Asia). So, Heartland is not important. For him, the not Eurasia is important but the surrounding area of Eurasia is important which is called “Rimland” so to control the Rimland means the control of world politics. This means the control of the geography from outer to inner is important. From Balkans to China is important (İşcan, 2004: 64). This Spykman’s Theory helped the formation of NATO and had led the wars of Vietnam and Korea (İşcan, 2004: 64)

Figure 2.3: Rimland and Heartland



Source: www.birminghamwarstudies.wordpress.com, 2018)

The figure 2.3. shows Rimland and its importance or superiority over Heartland

Figure 2.4: Eurasia Landmass



Source : (www.commonswikimedia.org.) Source: www.plantsglore.com

The figure 2.4. shows, The world's most of the energy reserves are located in this region. Eurasia is a geography which seems for USA a former challenger against his power. Because this region is the influence area of Russia. For him, this region is the big chess board which shows the global power struggle game (Baykent, 2000:7). Brzezinski says that, only the countries are **active geostrategic players** who have the motility in outside of their national boundaries. Brzezinski defines the Turkey and Iran as a geopolitic axis. He argues that; Turkey balances power of Russia in Caucasus and protects the Black Sea and Mediterrean Sea transition routes” (Baykent, 2000: 9). Turkey secures the South Wing of NATO. Both Iran and Turkey are the important geostrategic actors in the region and any political shift in their policies will effect the whole region’s conjuncture.

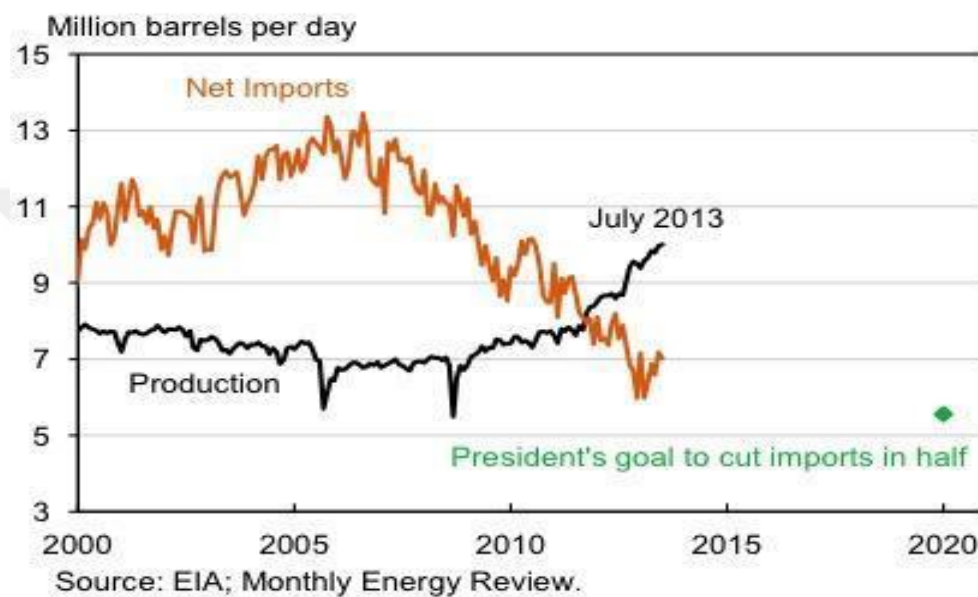
In geopolitical sense, the U.S.-Chinese struggle in the East Asia-Pacific Rim region is a rivalry between a maritime superpower with global interests and responsibilities and a show sign of being a dominant regional land power with superpower ambitions and access to the ocean. USA regards the rise of China as a global power challenge and its close alliance with Russia and Iran as a potential threat for its hegemony.

2.2.4. The Theory of Energy Hegemony

Throughout the history, USA had been always developed geopolitical theories in its foreign policy. After the end of the 20th century, USA had been more focused on the energy basins in the world geography. The control of the energy basins means control of the world politics” . Therefore, USA had focused on rich energy basin areas such as Middle East and Central Asia.

The main aim of USA is to satisfy its energy needs. USA is mostly dependent on outside resources in terms of oil and this will increase in the following years. In addition to that, by controlling energy corridors USA want to carry on its hegemonic power in world politics. For this reason, USA does not want to give the control of the Middle East to any other third party. (Ural, 2009: 140)

Figure 2.5.: Petroleum Overview



Source : www.obamawhitehousearchives.gov

The importance of the Middle East had led USA to control this geography and not given up the control to any other Super Power such as Russia and China. After the end of The Cold War, USA had tried to spread his liberal economic system and even now He has an opportunity to change the regimes in the Middle East (Ural, 2009: 144).

THIRD CHAPTER TRANSFORMATIONS, GLOBAL ENERGY PROJECTIONS AND ENERGY SECURITY

In this chapter, the relations of energy with security and finance will be explained. Together with this, some important geographies which have rich oil and gas reserves will be shown. Energy is closely related with national and human security. The majority of the countries apply different energy strategies for their economic and political sovereignty.

The international oil and gas reserves in the world are limited and not equally distributed and shared. In addition to that, the countries who have rich energy reserves and the countries who have located in transit energy corridors gaining more advantage over other countries who have limited energy resources and consume energy most. As a result of these, countries such as China, USA, India become more dependent to countries who have rich oil and gas reserves. They have a huge oil consumption but on the other hand they have limited resources.

With the globalization process, the security term was shifted from national to international level. This new energy geopolitic conjuncture; states who have energy excess and who have energy deficit are important. The economic priorities brings political priorities and this leads to changings in states' policies. This deficit and excess balance leads to asymmetrical energy dependence between countries.

3.1. ENERGY TRANSPORTATION

From The Industrial Revolution, to the until now having and possessing energy resources had lead many countries to compete with each other. Having energy resources such as oil and gas have been very important for global powers. Today, global developments leads the creation of new structures and security trends in the world. Global policy trends are now overcoming old policy styles of the states and therefore new actors and new components are appearing in the world policy. The

term 'global governance' is now the policies of global powers. Energy is an indispensable need for humanity. Therefore, energy geopolitics and energy security plays an important role in the world politics.

After the increase in the usage of oil in 20th century, and global oil crisis in 1973, all had been questioned the availability and security of reaching these resources. The huge increase in the world population and increase in energy usage forced states to research safe and sustainable energy resources. It is being predicted that the usage of oil and natural gas will be increase almost %45 in 2030 (Özkan, 2010: 7). For this reason, not only the countries who have rich oil and gas resources are important but also the countries who located on the energy corridors will be strategically important. The energy geopolitics is including the regions where supply and demand side of energy is exist and the geographies where they are transported.

3.1.1. The Strategical Importance of Oil & Gas

The transportation of oil and gas through sea and pipelines are strategically important. USA, Japan and mostly EU Countries carry their oil by sea (Bilgesam, 2014: 547). In this sense, geopolitical regions such as, Basra Gulf, Bab-el Mandeb, Strait of Hormuz and Eastern Europe are important in oil transportation.

3.1.1.1. Transportation By Sea

The first oil transportation was carried during 1861. This oil was carried by huge tankers during WWII. The transportation of liquid gas (LNG) was also first transported from Algeria to England in 1964 (Kantörün,2010: 89). However, the transportation of LNG is much more expensive when it is compared with the transportation of oil. Because, these ships should have special cooling systems and therefore, it is necessary that these gases should be bought in a cheap price.

The transportation of oil by highway is so hard and expensive therefore transportation by sea is more choosen.

So, oil mostly transported by sea transportation. Especially tanker ships play an important role in carrying oil to the coasts of the strategic regions. Countries such as; USA, Japan and Europe mostly prefer sea transportation. The straits such as; Bab-el Mandeb and Strait of Hormuz are very important strategic corners for transportation of oil to Europe and America. However transportation of oil by tanker ships brings danger for environment.

In the sense of sea transportation; USA has superiority over other states. In terms of energy security; sea ways are playing important role especially Hormuz Strait, Bab-el Mandeb are important for oil transportation to Asia, USA and Europe. The %65 part of oil is carried by sea (Bilgesam,2014: 564).

3.1.1.2. Transportation By Pipelines

The transportation of oil and natural gas through pipelines is also a cheaper way. The transportation of natural gas through pipelines are the cheapest than other transportation types. The %95 of natural gas is carried by pipelines (Bilgesam, 2014: 564)

Especially for transportation of gas, first of all gas should be liquefied and then turned into gas . This procedure brings so much financial cost. Therefore pipelines are being preferred by exporting countries.

However, these transportation by pipelines requires huge investments and also long-term contracts. In addition to that, the other factors such as political stability, crisis, economic conditions of countries are also important. In the sense of carrying oil and natural gas, Turkey's intersection role brings him a strategical importance.

3.2. ENERGY PIPELINE TRENDS AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

In world's energy tendency mainly depends on oil and natural gas demand. There is big competition in the world policy for searching oil and natural gas reserves and also about their distribution. The fossil fuels mainly shares of %90 of the energy which is used in today's world (Stephen, 2017: 660). The international energy policies mainly compose of long term economic, technical and political plans.

Any interruption in the energy supply or increases in energy prices are causing political and economical crisis in the world. Energy resources can ensure a state to direct international policy.

Today, energy become a new diplomatic instrument and power element in international relations. In this new international political conjuncture; the new actors of the international society is not only states but also international organizations and multinational companies.

Energy issues have critical importance today in the world for all global actors. The pipelines are connecting world policies in a attached line. This new pipeline policy of the states are changing demographic and economic dimensions of the world map. Today, energy geopolitics mainly express itself through international energy

agreements and international pipeline projects. Energy geopolitics is today determining the global geopolitics through pipelines. The high usage of natural gas had caused the new energy security tendencies in the world. The carriage of natural gas through pipelines had raised the importance of geopolitics in energy policies.

The huge energy consumptions of global powers such as China and USA and on the other side rich energy resources of Middle East. The geographic places of the world where the energy reserves exist and their transportation are determining the foreign strategies of the world countries.

3.3. SECURITY & ENERGY SECURITY

The birth of the oil industry is generally said that famous well drilled for oil in 1859 by Colonel Edwin L. Drake at Titusville, Pennsylvania (Sempa, 2002: 87). Also, it is claimed that F.N. Semyenov was the first to drill a well on Apsheron Peninsula, near Baku Azerbaijan in 1848 (Sempa, 2002: 88). The transformation from coal to oil also had led states to search for oil and this had caused new international security issues. Actually, when it is thought that the energy was the subject which transformed the society to modernity. With The Industrial Revolution or the earlier formation of EU as a Coal and Steel Community in 1950s. Energy's role can not be denied in theories about cultural evolution, political ecology and social action.

From the time of Industrial Revolution until this time, energy policies had played the key role in the reason for wars. During The Cold War, the formation of NATO or Warsaw Pact were a kind of reaction against threat perceptions of two blocks (US & USSR). After the WWII, the term security is more used to define nation-state defence against any potential threat. This is actually used to defend the nation-state against military threat. However, After The Cold War, the definition of security became more wide. These security problems such as; mass immigration, terror, problems in borders, security of finance, security of human and etc.. According to realists and Kenneth Waltz international conflicts are derived from anarchic nature of international politics.

What is security? It is important to answer first about security that, security but against whom? Security from where? And how secure? and etc... Today, security is the decisive factor for international relations. The concepts such as military and enemy are the common concepts of security subject. The flow of energy free from any threat is important. In addition to that, the sharing of energy should be "fair".

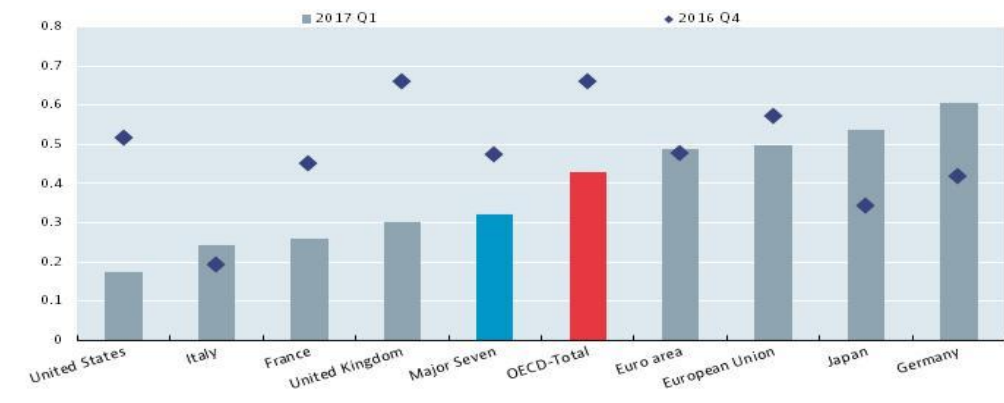
The term security mainly expressing the security of 'nation state in the past. However, Today, this security term means more than this. After The Cold War, with the appearance of new, ethnic structures, new international companies, terrorism, had led to change in the meaning of this term. Energy security is a growing concept not for only Turkey but also for all the world. International system is interconnected and therefore one crisis or a threat in part of the world can effect the other geographies. In other words, the security of the international system, the security of the geographies-regions, security of the states, security of the societies, security of the individuals. For Instance, the migration crisis from Syria is a problem for international system, a problem for the region, a problem for the Syrian neighbours, a problem for migrated countries, and finally a problem for the Syrian refugees and citizens. Especially South Eastern Regions of Turkey had tested much social and economical problems about this. A city called, Kilis have refugee population more than its native public.

The Energy security has different meanings for different countries and geographies and conditions. The vulnerability is also another important issue. The vulnerability problems has long term stresses and short-term shocks.

For Instance, in today's world the dependency to the energy resources such as oil or natural gas or nuclear are determining also its security term. As a result this security is shaping the military activities of states' .

According to Realist perspective; the security issues mainly solved by politicians and by military actions. However, today's security perception has different dimensions such as economy, social life, humanity and etc... the economic and social politics should be developed by states. For their existence and its sustainability and need for economic.

Figure 3.1.: Economic Growth of States



Source: (www.oecd.org)

The figure 3.1. shows the economic growth percentage of countries during 2016-2017 period. OECD and U.K. shares the highest rate. When a state's economy depends on consuming oil, disruptions in flowing oil might damage the state's economy, so he would use military force or other political instruments (soft or hard power) to protect its prosperity. Especially, if a state's economy consumes vast quantities of oil and its GDP is composed of oil intensive. Energy Security is defined as "low vulnerability of vital energy systems". (Jewell, jessic ,Cherp 2014 : 5).

The vulnerability of the vital energy systems are important for state's action because it can cause to a disruption of existential activities to social ,political or economical instability. **Security Dilemma**; One state's security position can be the insecurity of others. If he increases his security position this will lead the decrease the other one's security (Moran, 2009 : 9).

In global economic world, energy policy is a kind of war arena in which some players are in and some are out. States are so determined to take military preventions just for to secure their energy security. To reach energy resources and its secure transportation and also its purchasing from an affordable price are very important for all the global actors. With the following of Industrial Revoltion, World War II, Arab-Israel War, Opec Energy Crisis, Gulf War and so on... in each event and crisis holding the energy resources by countries played an important role. Especially, the power struggle in holding the energy resources in the Middle East and in Central Asia played an important effect in energy geopolicy and energy security. To secure

their energy corridors and to diversify their energy buying European Union and other global powers are developing new foreign political instruments and strategies.

In today's international conjuncture, the energy security is a critical term that include the protection of the entire energy supply chain. Energy security always regarded as equal to national security. It is impossible to operate your warship or plane without fuel or working your industry. Especially, the 1973 oil crisis and Arab – Israel Wars had proved that how energy prices and secure flow of energy was important. Energy security concept is directly connected with political stabilities and turmoils of countries. Energy is the charge of the world economy without energy resources economies and even human beings could not live. In this respect, the sustainable reach to the energy resources is very critical in the sense of energy security. In the global agenda energy resources and energy security subject is at central source of global conflicts in the world. Due to scarcity of energy resources, to reach freely from any threat is a big competition between states.

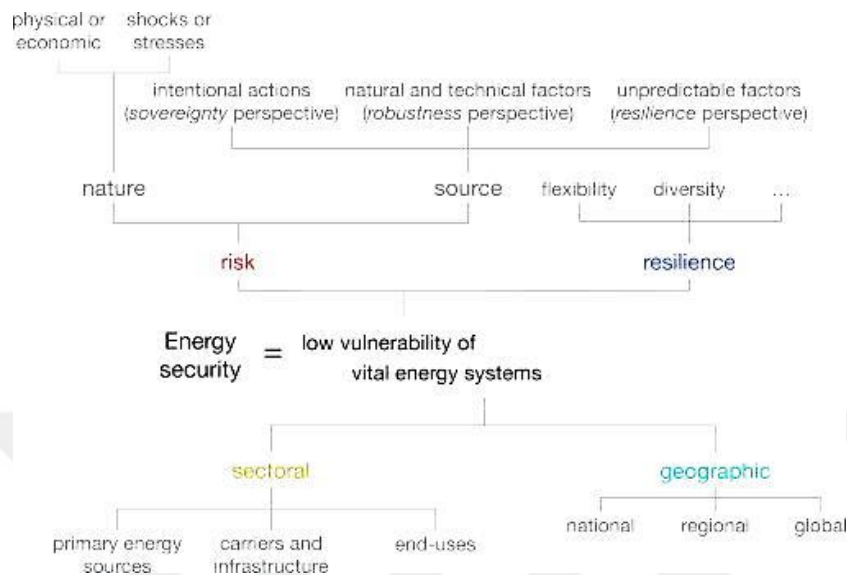
International energy management, consist of a greater diversity of dimensions. Global energy world is characterized by uncertainty, and power struggle strategies. In the sense of energy demand and supply; many changing roles and key players are exist.

Energy is a risk and security problem of our today's global world which can be called “**unprecedented uncertainty**” (Szulecki, Kacper, Kirsten Westphal 2011:25). In the history of global energy, like the switch from coal to oil before the First World War or the 1970s, energy crisis which caused in deep shifts, but these were never as quick and as multidimensional as the changes that were witnessed today.

In the ‘energy policy triangle’ (comprising security, sustainability and affordability), all three aspects are under pressure in new ways. “former losers in this geological resource lottery have particularly welcomed the emergence of unconventional energy sources”(Szulecki, Kacper, Kirsten, 2011: 23). According to the theorist Mackinder; a state which is powerful both in land and sea is a powerful state. According to him, Eastern Europe and Siberia is the heart regions of the world. He says that, if a state can control strategic landmasses, then He can control the world. Another theorist Mahan, an American Admiral says a Hegemonic Super

Power State is the only state who can control a hegemonic power in oceans. Britain and USA can be example for this especially in during the WWII.

Figure 3.2.:Different Variables of Security



(Gawdat , 2011 :112)

The figure 3.2. shows the different dimensions and variables of security. this figure it can be easily seen different segments and dimensions of security.

Each factor is determining and triggering each of it. For instance, national security problem then regional security and finally global security issue (Syrian War). In the current debate over NATO expansion, for example, opponents argue that even though expansion into Central Europe would increase NATO's military capability, it would also increase Russian insecurity and therefore make Russian invasion of its neighbor.

According to Wendt, a security dilemma is a social subject composed of different understandings in which states show no trust with each others' policies. Throughout the history the powerful states always had wanted to control the small states. After the end of The Cold War, geopolitical power gaps had been occurred in the regions such as Balkans and Eurasia. Due to the shift of central gravity of petroleum from North to the South in global world energy war or competition exist in all around the world. According to the some social scientists the most important challenge against global economic integration is the regionalism such as; EU, NATO

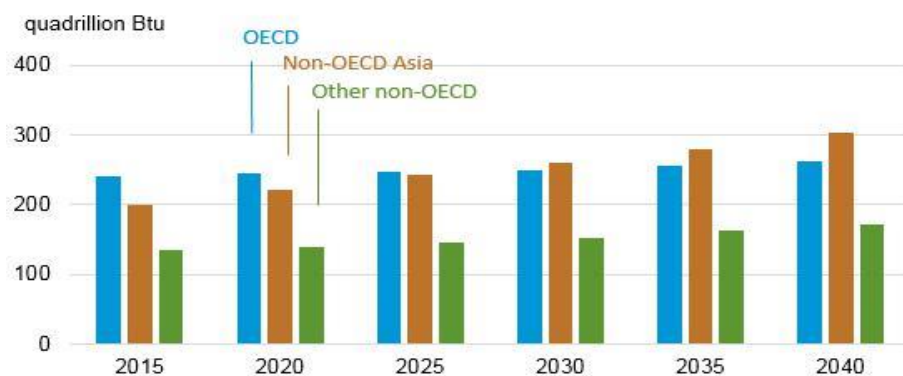
, NAFTA, SCO,... Actually when price of oil increases or demand-supply surplus happens then new global crisis is inevitable. As a result, new political interventions come into force. USA is still using his power to enforce the global system as He did in the past.

The dynamics between energy producers, consumers, are shaping in which can be called “pipeline politics” (Öniş- 2006: 7). Energy resources are realized by countries as a “energy weapon” (Moran 1 2009: 6). Today’s global world militarization of energy is a new trend. Especially, when it is thought that the annexation of Crimea by Russia and Syrian crisis, the holding of energy such as oil and natural gas are very crucial for states. The pipeline politics which is called as a very important game which have a very deep political and critical outcomes.

Major states reconsidering the reluctance to use force against each other. “Energy security now seems in the central of the “ national security”. Energy is the new cause of war and a battle reason in international arena. Energy security is today at the central of the “ national security . Today, access to the energy is the new cause for wars, and energy itself realized as a “ weapon”. Energy is not a static subject but a matter of dynamic which compose of many actors in its itself. Our world’s economy is today an oil economy. The economic developments in the world are being materialized based on energy.

Today, Euroasia and Middle East Regions are very important because they hold 4/3 of oil and natural gas resources. The global struggle over access to energy and control of energy resources has intensified. Russia, USA, EU and China are the main global actors with significant interests and influences in the whole world. It is the energy that strategy planners find it easiest to imagine that.

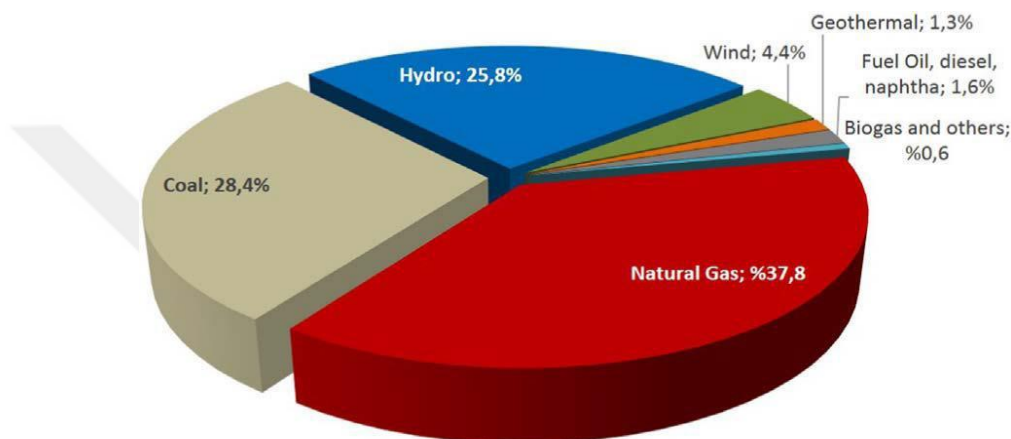
Figure 3.3. : World Energy Consumption by Country Grouping



Source : www.eia.gov.

The figure 3.3. shows the OECD Members' and Non- OECD Members' energy consumption per quadrillion in 2015 and its estimated rate during the next decades. As it is seen above, energy consumption is increasing in each five years OECD countries are the most consumer of energy getting increase and estimated to be increase in the following years and decades. OECD countries shares the highest rate in terms of energy consumption. Non-OECD Countries are sharing the second rate. OECD and Non-OECD Asian countries will be the highest consumer in 2040.

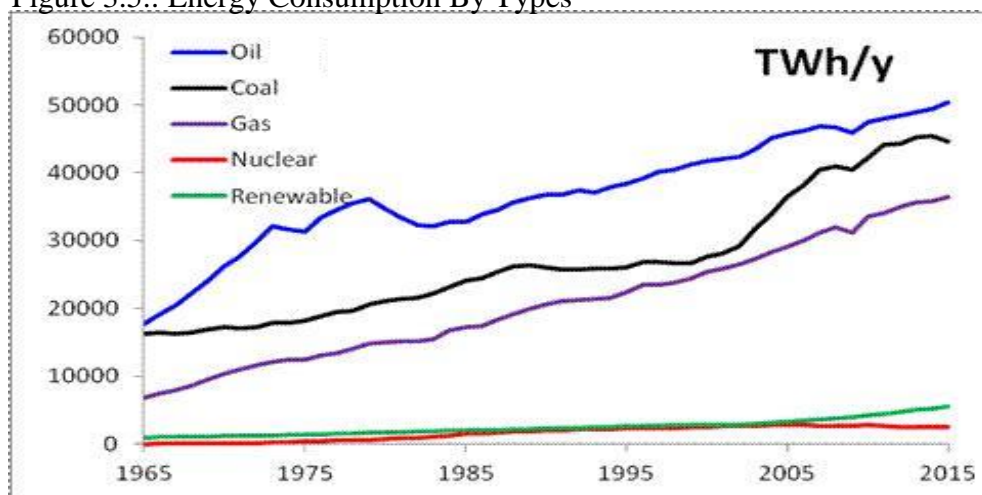
Figure 3.4: Energy Usage Per Types



(Source : Ole Gunnar Austvika, Gülmira Rzayeva, 2017)

The figure 3.4. shows the energy usage percentge according to their types in the world. The highest rank belongs to natural gas. The second rate is belong to coal and last one is hydro. The figure above shows the importance of natural gas in world energy share.

Figure 3.5.: Energy Consumption By Types



Source : (www.energyfinance.org)

The figure 3.5. shows the quantity of energy use by types until 2015 . Oil usage shares the highest rate of all. Coal is the second type for consumption. It can be seen how the usage of oil was increased in each decade.

Energy always have been existed as a game which many players have been in and some have been out . When the history of the mankind is analysed it can be seen that how the energy is important for their social life. It was the energy and still it is the energy which transforms our life. Energy is the heart of our economic world. Today, economies are more linked than before because of globalization. Energy is composing of different dynamics such as ; consumers, suppliers and transporters. The Energy Independence exist becuse many international actors(consumers-suppliers-transporters) engage in interactions. In Today's global world , access to energy is very important especially for global powers such as China, USA , India.... and EU.

3.3.1 Regional Security Complex After The Cold War

Most of the international conflicts are being materialized in the geographies where the natural gas and energy reserves are. The states who are directing the international policy, wants to guarantee their economic interests by developing economic and political strategies about geographies on the world. Therefore the economic assets of the states and the scarcity of the resources in the world become more important. So, they determine their foreign policies and security strategies mostly according to their economic concerns. The economical, strategical and geopolitical value of the geographies where the energy resources are exist had become more important than before. The control of oil and natural gas in the world is now creating the new international conjuncture.

Regional Systems are influenced by geographical structure and capabilities. The world had tested The Cold War with Super Power involvements. The end of The Cold War had led regional powers to act more aggressive and free. The end of The Cold War also had ended the ideological camps and struggles. After the the end of The Cold War, the rise in the growing of regionalization happened. In a regional security perspective, one single great power plays the leading role in the region and controlling the regional security management. For instance, what is happening in Syria now is exactly this.

With the leadership of Russia; Iran, Turkey and Syria is trying to develop a common policy in the region. In this term, the relations of states as a unit and military – political actors are important. RSCT (Regional Security Complex Theory) trying to study “security” on a regional level. Actually, the founder of theory Barry Buzan says all states are somehow interconnected with each other in a global and regional web of security interdependence (Öğütücü, 2014: 8). According to *RSCT*, the international system is structured around a power spectrum that circles from superpowers (at the top) to regional powers (at the bottom). The regional dimensions are important. Regional variables are different from region to region. It is a complex that explains a national security of a nation cannot be solved apart from one another. The security dependency and interdependence geographically diverse international anarchic system. According to Barry Buzan there are five sectors of security. (Stone, 2009 : 7)

- **Military** : Physical body of a state.
- **Economic** : Welfare, Revenues , Stability
- **Political** : Institutions, Basic values and interests
- **Environmental** : Natural Environment , Public Health
- **Societal** : Identity

There are five levels of security: individual security, state security and international security. Each security is somehow interconnected with each other. For instance, your political stability can not be strong unless you have strong economy. If a state can not have strong economy then how can he establish a powerful defence system. If a state don't have a powerful army he can pose any global threat easily. In Today's World politics, it is seen that how these each terms are interconnected with each other. For instance Syrian War, since it has been started in 2011 the crisis is still affecting international system, states and lastly individuals. When it is observed today's political conjuncture it can be seen how three-level affects each other on the whole picture. The “ National Security” problem can only be understood when the interconnection of these three levels with each other had been analysed.

The political and economical threats which also Bary Buzan emphasis on shapes the world politics and its interconnection with each other. Buzan stresses on the important connection between economic security and military security. The economic security is regarded as the general security of a state. The security of each

actor in a region interacts with the security of the other actors. Security complex in a region can not be resolved dependently from one and another. It can not be thought that the security term apart from security complex of world policy. The diversity of energy, access of energy from a reasonable price, energy flow between countries, supply of energy all of them are including the security concept.

For instance, the security of Israel mainly a problematic issue for its neighbour and Arab countries and the Middle East. Turkey is a good example for regional security complex theory (Barrinha, 15). Turkey stands as a bridge and a buffer state between East& West, between NATO and Russia. The South East Anatolia Region of Turkey is very sensitive in terms of regional to national security. In addition to that, the north part of Syria and *PKK* –*YPG* settlement in the region creates threat and insecurity for Turkey. The Cold War or 9/11 War on Terrorism can be given as an example of macro-securitization. The macro and micro level of securitization has been tested until this time. The national security of a nation can turn into a international systematic security problem such as examples of 9/11 Attacks or Syrian War. It can be seen that the example of Syria , that how North borders of Syria had turned into a regional security complex problem for countries both Turkey, Russia, USA and even Iran. It can be seen that how energy and energy resources had been tried to be securitized by USA within a given geographical region. Together with the constructing of long energy pipelines and transport energy by land and sea, it can be seen that energy (inter)dependence between states from different regions is so clear and growing.

3.4. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF ENERGY, OPEC AND ITS AFTERMATH

The Rothschild family and the Nobel Brothers played a major role in the development of the oil industry in Baku. Between 1890 and 1900 oil production had trippled and The Russian Empire accounted for over 40% of global production in 1900. Shell Transport and Trading, which later became part of Royal Dutch/Shell, had begun life by ferrying oil produced by the Rothschild family to Western Europe (Gawdat Bahgat 2011: 131)

The need for energy, during and aftermath of the World War II had lead to gas exploration and development with extensive pipeline network that built in parallel with the expansion of gas production. By the middle of the twentieth century, natural

gas provided about a third of total primary energy in the United States and the nation was by far the main natural gas producer and consumer in the world . During 1950 and 1960s natural gas discoveries were made in North Europe. Especially after the 1973-1974 Arab – Israel crisis. War between energy producers caused the destruction of their energy infrastructure and to a surge in prices. The Iran–Iraq War (1980–1988) and the First Gulf War (1990–1991) had taken Iranian, Iraqi, and Kuwaiti production off the market and caused turmoil in the global energy markets.(Gawdat Baghat, 2011:210)

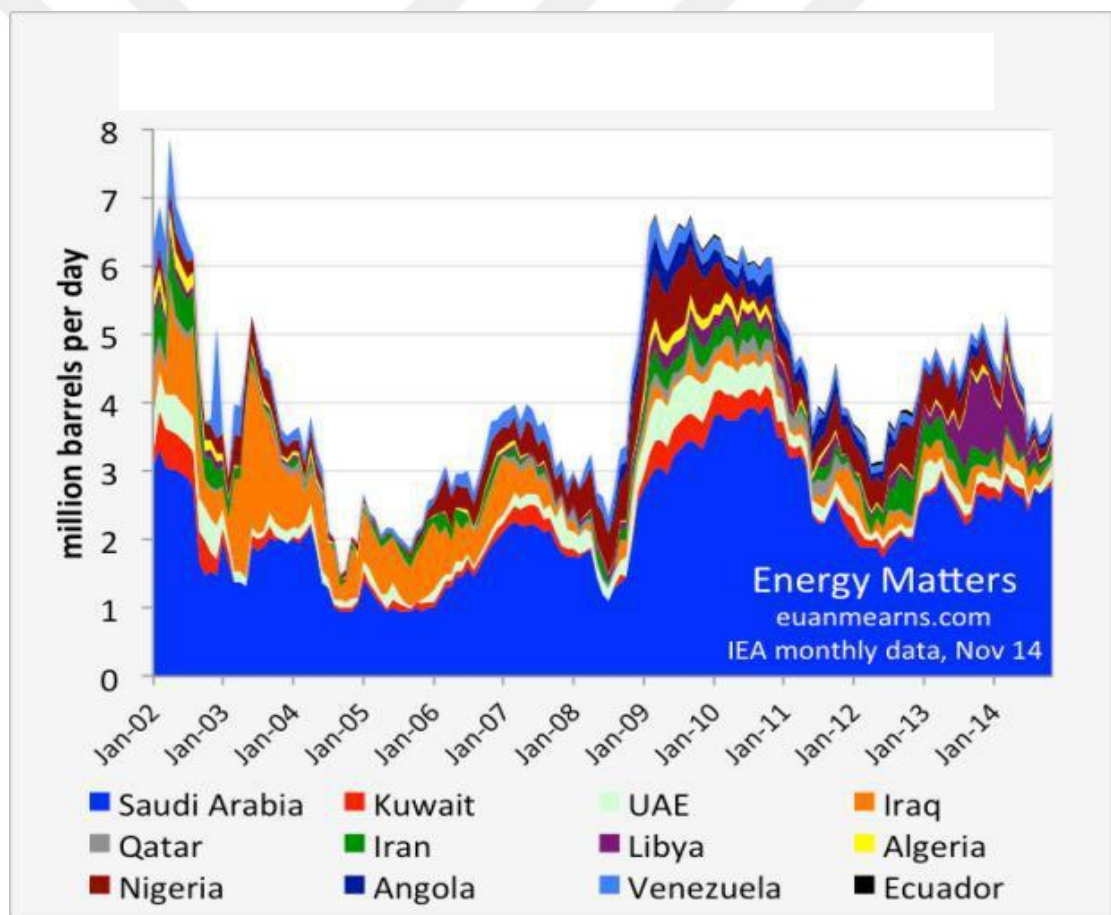
For most of the twentieth century, the global oil markets were dominated by a few major (Indian Oil Corporation) IOCs, they so-called Seven Sisters: Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey (later Exxon), Standard Oil Co. of New York(originally Socony, later Mobil), Standard Oil Co. of California (Socal, later Chevron), Royal Dutch Shell, Texaco, BP, and Gulf . The oil producing countries, OPEC did not participate in production or pricing of crude oil, but simply received a stream of income through royalties and income taxes as part of the concession system. OPEC countries were too weak to challenge the multinational Seven Sisters' domination of the industry. In 1960s the Seven Sisters again hold their domination by further reducing oil prices. In response, delegates from five major oil producing nations–Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela – met in Baghdad and announced on September 16, 1960 the foundation of OPEC. The 1973 Arab–Israeli War provided the geopolitical and geo-economic opportunity to fundamentally altered the balance of power between OPEC members and IOCs. (Gawdat Bahgat 2011:1) Asserting their power, OPEC members decided in October 1973 to unilaterally raise oil prices independently of the multinational oil companies' participation. These developments paved the way for structural changes in the world oil industry. From 2000 up to 2008, oil prices soared and, as a result, most oil exporting countries in OPEC and non-OPEC members accumulated substantial revenues. The imbalance between supply and demand was the driving force behind the soaring oil prices. In the early 1970s, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (**OPEC**) has been holding for more than half the world's oil; however it can supply only %42 of it.

The OECD countries almost shares %70 of world oil consumption. Unlike the supply in interruption of oil shocks of 1973–1974 and 1979–1980, the 2000s' surge was a demand-driven one, fueled by strong Asian consumption (Gawdat Baghat 2011

: 178). From 2005 to 2030 oil's share is projected to slightly decline from %35 to 32%, the share of natural gas will increase from %21 to 22%, while that of coal will rise from %25 to 28% (Gawdat Baghat 2011: 178). .

In other words, fossil fuels will continue to provide more than 80% of the world's demand for energy. In a meeting held in Tehran in May 2001, some major gas producing nations created an organization called the Gas Exporting Countries Forum (GECF) to facilitate such cooperation. Since then, some members, such as Iran and Venezuela, have sought to transform the GECF into Gas OPEC. Others (i.e., Algeria and Qatar) believe it would take some time for such a transformation to take place (Gawdat Baghat, 2011 : 185).

Figure 3.6.: Oil Capacity Per Day Among Countries



(Source: Euan Mearns, 2015, oilprice.com).

The figure 3.6. shows oil capacity per day(million barrel of oil) among countries until the time of January, 2014 . Saudi Arabia and Venezuela are the top producers for oil. Nigeria, Iraq and Libya are the others... Venezuela and Saudi Arabia had shared the highest capacity in 2014.

3.5. ENERGY PROJECTIONS

To access the energy and the energy poverty are directly related with the industry and the modern development. It is not generally cared about energy, the energy services heating, cooling, lighting, transportation transforms our life. It should be thought that what would it be like to live without energy? To live without electricity or fuel? The impact and influence of energy is shaping the foreign policy / security of nations in all around the world. Energy price can not be thought apart from political and global power struggles. Therefore, energy is a kind of global equation which necessitate global cooperation and political stability of the countries. This is very essential for today's world policy.

In this study, to analyse how the energy economically will change the policy of global powers. The use of clean energy provides new economic opportunities. After the 19th century, coal replaced by oil and to have oil resources became the main aim of global powers. Increasing scarcity of oil reserves and the dependency to oil make global powers to take actions. For Instance, when it is analysed that the huge military spendings and wars happen in the M. East where the oil and gas reserves are so rich.

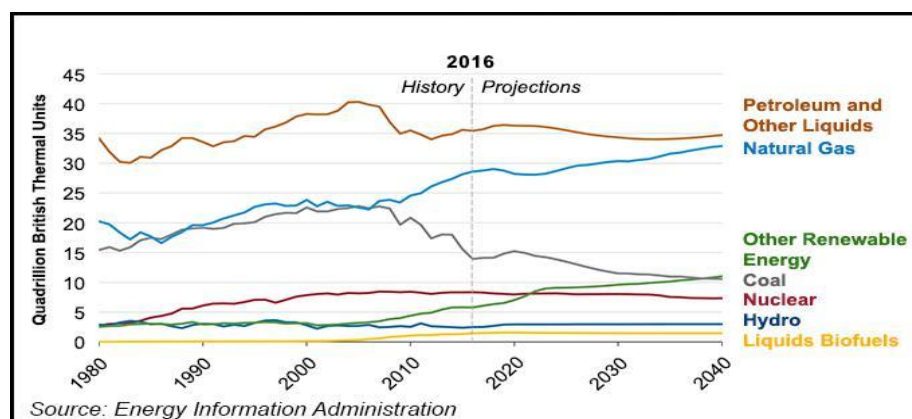
According to Kenneth Waltz, International Politics is anarchic (SEMPA, 2002: 76). Energy security with the access to energy supplies is tied up with military and national security. The scarcity in energy resources is directing world states to make geostrategic targets. It can not be denied that the containment policy of USA during The Cold War has ended. How can it be expressed the developments in Syria, Ukraine or in Georgia without observing the USA – Russia confrontation. Russia still possesses nuclear warheads and delivery systems. The ideological aspect of The Cold War had ended but the geopolitical aspect is still continues (SEMPA, 2002, :45). The geopolitical attractive and control of Eurasia still alive. Both USA and Russia does not want to loose the control in this region. Globalisation process, made all states companies to get interconnected easily and became world a one nation. In the sense of, neo-liberal perspective with open market eases the companies more interconnected. In this new global era, each state is acting such an individual who defends his interests against others.

According to this new global era, all disputes and agreements are talked and discussed in international transparent platforms. Global organization such as; WTO, EU or UN (United Nations) are functioning regional / global politics and economic

events. Especially, EU with its upper-national structure, it is showed as an example of global governance.

In this study, it can be seen how EU and US stands against Russian energy domination and how these actors play their cards. It is seen that how some energy projects are supported by USA and some are by Russia. How Ukranian crisis emerged? all these are connected with flow of energy and at last money. Today, EU can not follow a common energy policy in its structure. Eastern European States such as Poland has sensitive security problems because of Russia when it is compared with Germany or France. Besides that, Norway when it is compared with other EU States, He has rich oil and gas resources. Today Norway produces nearly one million barrels per day, of which close to one-half is oil (Dean Abrahamson, 2010: 25). Norway has rich hydropower and Hydrocarbon reserves. The U.S. has about %2 of global oil reserves and consumes about 23% other world's oil production (Dean Abrahamson, 2010: 25). In 2014, the nuclear power shares 11% of the worldwide electricity generation and the electricity production by nuclear power reactors in 2015 was 2411 TWh(Mark A. Rosen, 2017: 84). In 2015, four countries (France, Ukraine, Slovakia and Hungary) exploited nuclear energy to supply more than half of their electricity demand.(Mark A Rosen, 2017: 23).

Figure 3.7.: The Consumption of Energy Types By Years



The figure 3.7. shows energy consumption in different energy types among the world from 1980, to its estimated rate until the next decades. The oil and natural gas shares highest propotion for consumption. It can be easily seen how the consumption of natural gas had increased in each decade.

China and India are expected to be among the largest economies in the world in 2035. Russia is expected to become the major exporter in the energy market. The fast increase of the GDP and the population growth will be the drivers of the non-OECD demand.

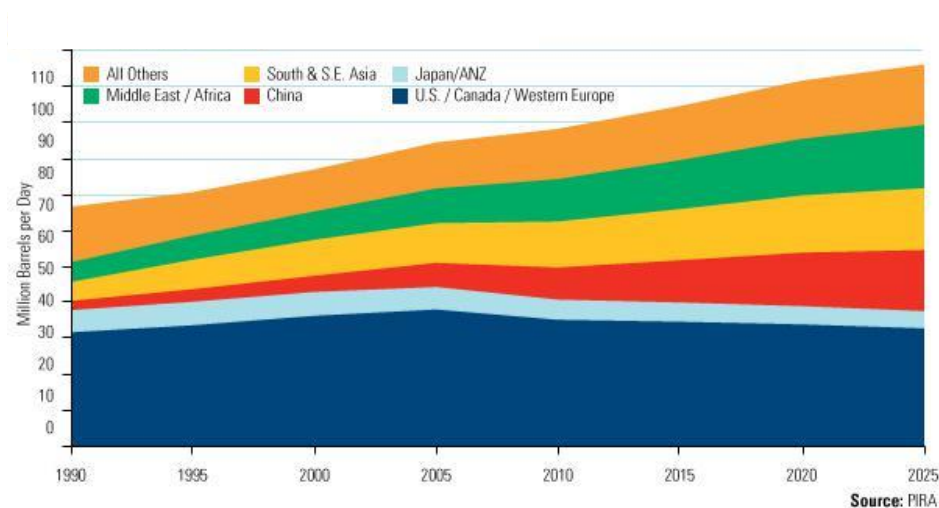
3.5.1. World Energy Finance, Price & Investments

Global Energy Investments are increasing in each year. Today, energy prices and investments are directing world economy. Today, in international relations system energy is regarded as the source of money and power. The foreign policies of the states are not only related with security and peace but also strictly related with economy. Economy and policy is interconnected with each other. There are 3 major points which are important for all key players in foreign policy concerning energy :

- The amount of energy reserves available for extraction.
- The ownership of the resources
- The distribution routes determining direct and environmental costs. (Öniş,,2011 : 18).

The geographic regions who have rich oil reserves are strategically important. For instance , Middle East. In addition to that, how these reserves will be transported from which routes are important. Turkey , in this sense strategically important for both Russia and Europe.

Figure 3.8.: World Oil Demand Among Regions

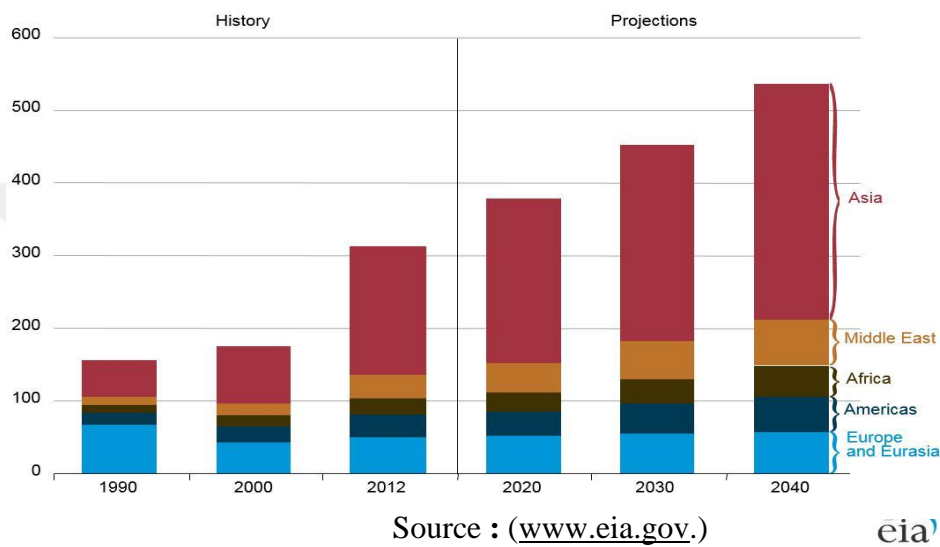


The figure 3.8. shows the world oil demand among countries and its estimated demand until the time of 2025.

There is a huge global broad mismatch in energy (between producers and suppliers) in the world. The availability of cheap energy resources played a major

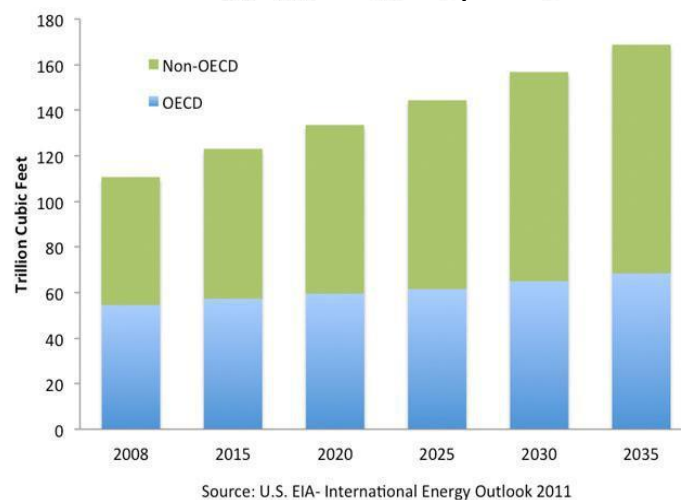
role in the reconstruction and development of Europe and Japan in the aftermath of World War II. Such crisis continued with 1973 Arab-Israel War. Arab oil producing countries cut their production and imposed oil embargos on the United States and a few other countries to force a change in their political support for Israel. (Gawdat Bahgat, 2011: 1)

Figure 3.9.: Energy Consumption Of Non OECD Countries



The figure 3.9. shows the energy consumption of NON – OECD Countries and its estimated rate until 2045 . Asian Countries shares the highest consumption rate

Figure 3.10.: World Natural Gas Consumption



Source :(www.greatpointenergy.com)

The figure 3.10. shows compare OECD and Non- OECD countries natural gas consumption per trillion cubic feet and its estimated rate until the time of 2035. Non OECD Countries shares the bigger percentage than OECD members. To a large degree, oil fuelled the rapid post-war economic growth achieved in OECD member countries. By the 1970s, petroleum was powering transportation, supplying one-third of industrial sector power and roughly one-quarter of electricity generation. This increase in demand for oil, coupled with a decline in oil self-sufficiency in the United States, created a situation in which OECD dependence on oil imports rose steeply in the years leading up to the crisis. Moreover, the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) commanded a very large spare capacity of oil production, which added downward pressure on oil prices(Abrahamson, 2010 : 25).

The low prices and apparent abundance of oil encouraged its growing use. Global gas demand is expected to reach nearly 4 000 billion cubic metres (bcm) by 2018. Four IEA countries have no gas storage facilities at present (Cameron, 2009: 24). Estonia uses neighbouring underground storage facilities in Latvia, while Luxembourg is well connected to storage facilities in neighbouring countries through four interconnecting points. Similarly, Switzerland uses underground storage in France to balance the Swiss gas network. Norway, which is a large net exporter of gas with only small volumes of domestic consumption, has not developed any significant storage capacity. (www.iea.org, 2014) Due to the globalization, it can be easily reach any good or knowledge in all around the world. Because of free trade and internet all multinational companies can sell their goods easily. These multinational companies are called “new masters of world”(Ayhan Kamel, 2014: 28). For Instance, the foreign trade volume of Shanghai Cooperation Organization is 210 billion \$ in 2016.(Erdem Eren,2017: 45).

3.5.2. Turkey, Energy, Finance and Investment

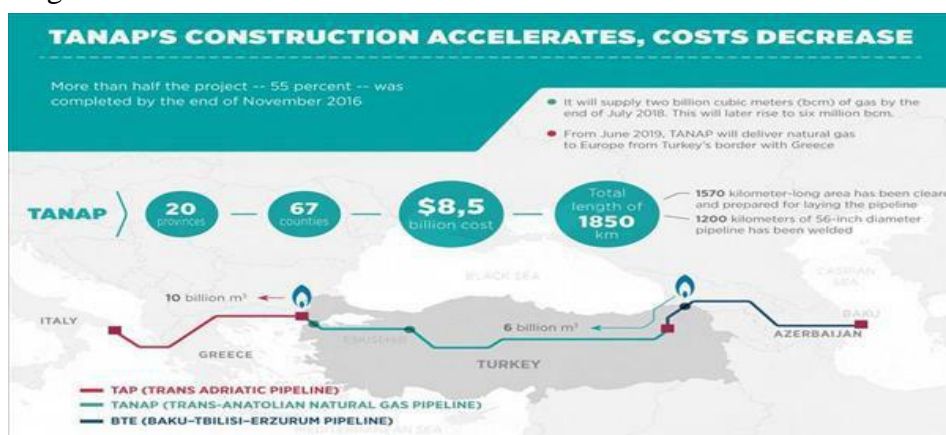
Russia is the natural gas superpower. The energy strategy of Russia is to invest up to \$625 billion over the next two decades to raise oil production by about 10% and a further \$590 billion to add at least 33% to its gas output. The oil and gas investment, part of a \$2 trillion plus plan to develop the Russian energy sector by 2030 also the country develops resource fields in Siberia and Far East(Nuray Erdoğan, 2017). For the investments of Turkish and South Stream Pipeline Projects approximately 7 billion Euro is needed to Turkey and Russia to carry out the pipeline

project. Russia will gain from this project about 750 Million \$ if this project will enter in force. In Today's global world multinational companies are the strongest actors in economies. They share huge incomes in nation's economy. For Instance, Gazprom, Lukoil, BP, Shell, Exxon Mobile and etc...

The credit value of *TANAP Project* is about 800 Million \$. The World Bank is giving 400 Million \$ credit to each Turkey, *BOTAŞ* and Azerbaijan company called *SOCAR* (Nuray Erdoğan, 2017). The credit was confirmed by World Bank. All energy policies through out the world are followed by National Companies such as ; Gazprom, Rosneft, Saudi Aramco, BP, SOCAR, ENI or BOTAS and so on... When these were considered the energy diplomacy, multinational companies with its huge budget and income they became more important actor than states. The international companies became more important when the economic completion had rise in the international system. Due to the national interests of the states each state is interacting in new energy investments and agreements.

When it is regarded that the lay down of piplines by big companies then multinational companies became important as states itself. It is seen that how national economies and polices are interconnected. However, because of the different interests of member states EU can not develop a common energy policy. Most of the Eastern European countries are dependent in terms of gas to Russia and so they don't want to disrupt their relations with Russia. The financial value of this project is about 8,5 billion dollar. The first gas flow is going to start in June 2018. The financial value of Akkuyu Nuclear *Basis* is 20 billion \$ and *S-400* Missile System value is 500 million \$. The estimated financial revenue of Turkey will be 28 billion\$ from Shah-Deniz Project until 2045(Nuray Erdoğan, 2017). Turkey is planning to tender 1 billion \$ Wind Energy in these days.

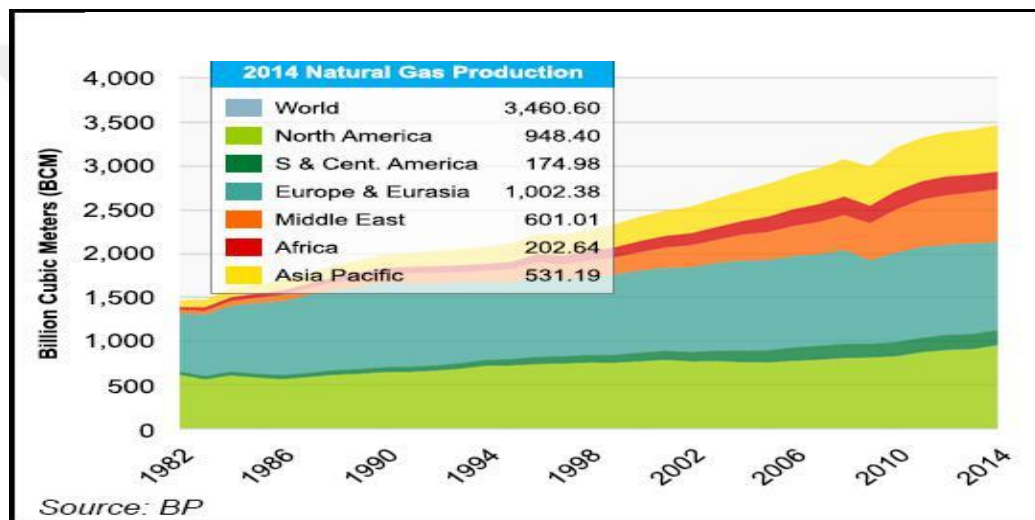
Figure 3.11: Financial Value Of TANAP PROJECT



Source :(www.worldbulletin.net)

Most of the participants of the tender are foreign investors. However, Turkish Government announced that during the tender foreign investors had to use Turkish investment equipments. The shift in the prices of oil influences the economies especially economies which consumes energy most like USA, China and EU. The Gulf War in 1990 or 1973 Arab oil embargo can be examples for these. Energy security with access to energy supplies is tied up with military and national security. Energy prices can have harmful effects in world's economic activities. For instance, Russia export of natural gas with the value of 300 billion Turkmen gas to Europe with the profit of %100 (Cameron, 2009: 24).

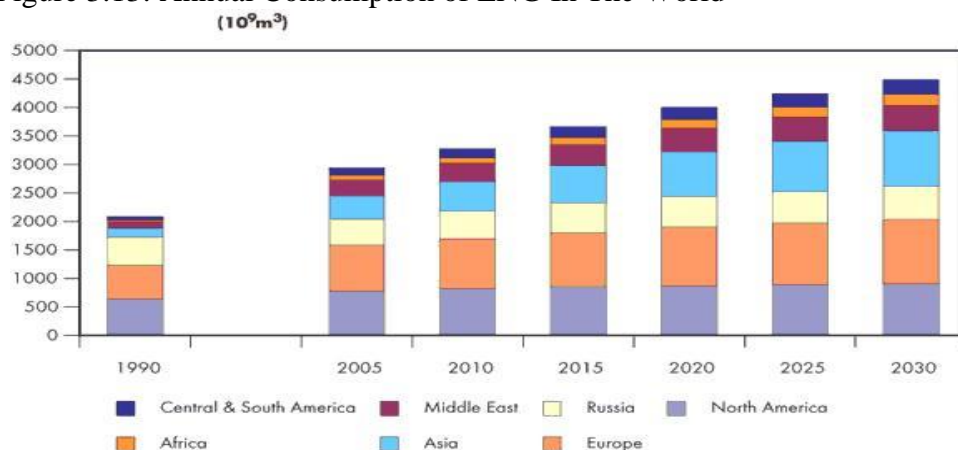
Figure 3.12.: Worldwide Natural Gas Production By Region



Source: (www.naturalgasintel.com).

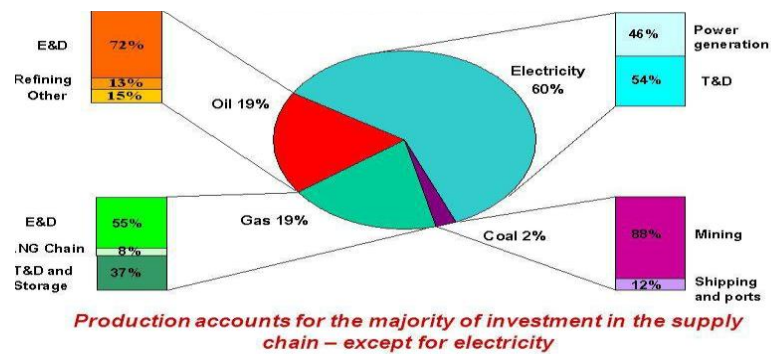
The figure 3.12. shows the world natural gas production per regions until 2014. Europe and Eurasia shares the highest percentage for production. In the sense of Mackinder's view, this region is the world's key region for world hegemony.

Figure 3.13: Annual Consumption of LNG In The World



The figure 3.13. shows the LNG annual consumption per m3 throughout the world in the compare of different parts of the world and its expected rate in 2030.

Figure 3.14: Energy Investments In The World



Source :(www.slideplayer.com)

The figure 3.14. shows the energy investment per types of energy. The estimated spendings will be 16 trillion dollars. Most of the investments were made in electricity.

3.5.3. Hydrocarbon Reserves in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea

Africa has rich hydro-carbon reserves. In 2010 Africa's estimated oil reserves were 127.7 billion barrels. (% 9.6 of world's total.) and natural gas is 14.7 trillion which is % 7.9 of world's total(Gawdat Bahgat 2011,page 111). The oil in this region has high quality and much more pure when it is compared with other regions. In addition to that, the easy transportation and cheap investment make this region more attractive than other regions. In West Africa, most of the deep water exploration took place in three prolific provinces: the Niger Delta tertiary system (central West Africa–Gulf of Guinea), the Gabon–Congo province (southern West Africa), and the Mauritania–Senegal–Bissau province (northern West Africa). Traditionally, African gas supply to Europe has come from North Africa. (Gawdat Bahgat,2011: 112). There are big LNG plants in Algeria, Libya and Nigeria. Since the early 2000 's rise of oil and natural gas import has been rising from Africa

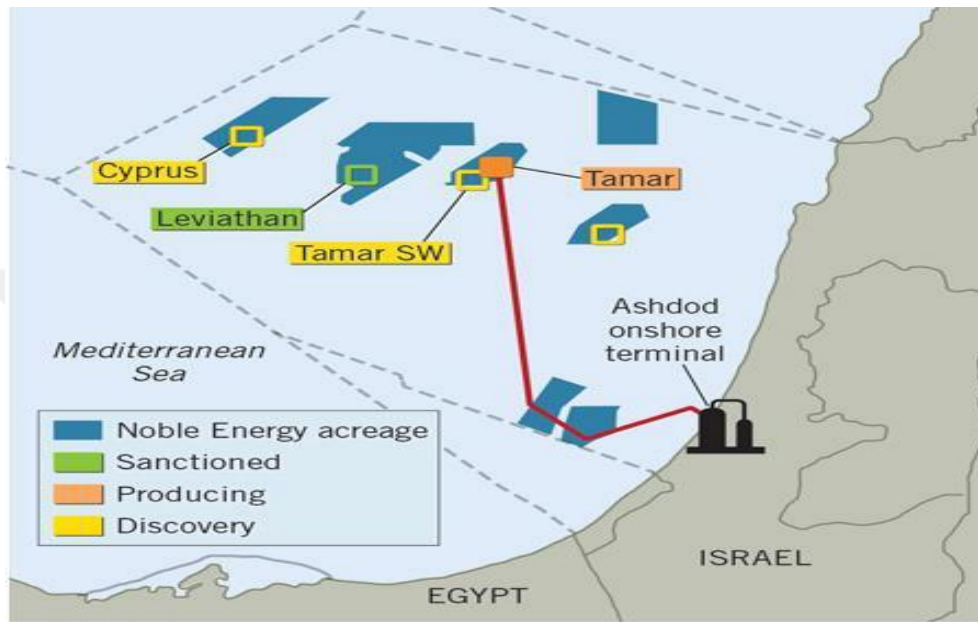
Apart from these Caspian Sea Region has rich hydrocarbon reserves. This area is surrounded by Kazakhstan, Russia, Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan and Iran. This region is also very important for USA and EU to satisfy their energy needs. In 2007,

BP and Chevron had opened offices in Turkmenistan, Lukoil is also very effective in the region. Due to the new energy resources Greece wants to re-shape its continental shelf boundaries. Greek Cypriots signed an agreement with Egypt in 2003 about its continental shelf boundaries. South and Turkish Cypriots, Syria, Lebanon and Palestine are important actors. Israel had found some natural gas reserves in Eastern Mediterranean Sea in 2010. As a result of gaining energy resources, each country's claim of their "continental shelf" emerges as a dispute among them.(Özel ve Erdoğan, 2006: 27). During his government period, Serdar Denktas had claimed that, the rich natural reserves around the Cyprus Island had been tried to be shared by EU and USA.

The energy reserves in Levant Basin, The Nile Basin and in the The Herodot Basin are equal to 30 billion barrel petrol . In Leviathan area approximately 1.7 billion barrel petrol and 3.45 trillion cubic meters natural gas exists. The Eastern Mediterranean Region is a very strategic point for the transfer of the energy to the European Market.(Özel ve Erdoğan, 2006: 27) . Due to the high rich reserves in this region, the geopolitical importance of Egypt and Israel had gained . In recent years, Cyprus in Afrodit, Egypt in Zuhr, and Israel in Leviathan had found new natural gas resources. Israel wants to export %80 of these natural gas reserves to the outside of the country by the end of the 2019 .(Özel ve Erdoğan, 2006: 27,28). The Leviathan gas pipeline Project is expected to carry out by 2020. Due to to regions of Tamar and Leviathan Israel wants to export the natural gas in these fields. Therefore, the Eastern Mediterranean Sea Region can face with some political turmoils in the following years because of the reserves in here and The Continental Shelf dispute. In this dispute, both Cyprus and Turkey are the other parties of this dispute. The recent discoveries of gas fields in Israel are expected to support the country's needs in the coming years because it has been estimated that they can "provide by 2020 up to 73% of Israel's energy supply for the next 50 years if not exported" (Fischhendler and Nathan, 2017: 18). Israel government invested 1,5 billion \$ to invest gas in Leviathan Basin in 2015 (Athanasios Dagoumas & Florus Flouras, 2017: 32). Leviathan gas might be more helpful to Ankara to decrease its increasing dependence on expensive Russian gas and volatile Iranian gas. Israeli-Turkish pipeline can increase its geostrategic importance and help Europe to diversify its gas pipeline routes. After the apology in 2013, Mavi Marmara Crisis, both Turkey and Israel

working on re-establishing the relations. In East-Mediterranean, another important issue is the in the multilateral Cyprus dispute. The problem is how to commercialize the region’s gas. If positive developments happen in the near future, the carrying of East-Mediterranean gas to the European markets will be more easy (Flouros, 2017: 32).

Figure 3.15.: Eastern Mediterranean Gas Survey



Source: Noble Energy

Source : (www.ogj.com)

The figure 3.15. shows the natural gas researches of Israel in the different regions in the Mediterranean Sea. The gas discoveries in Tamar and Cyprus fields have a very strategic importance for the sharing of these resources in the near future. The Greek Cypriots search for gas in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea , and its sharing for both islands seems to be a problem for Turkey. The USA 6th filo is now protecting the gas searchings in the Greek Cypriot side.

Figure 3.16.: Main Stakeholders For Gas Search In E.Mediterranean

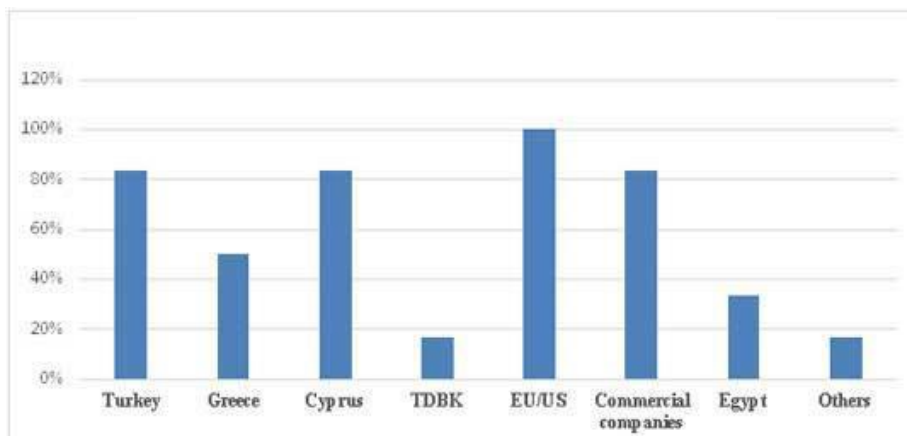


Figure 3.16. shows The Main stakeholders involved in the exploration and trading of gas in Eastern Mediterranean Sea (Dagoumas, 2017)

3.5.4. Middle East, Oil and Global Terror

The $\frac{3}{4}$ of the world oil reserves are exist in the region. The countries such as Saudi Arabia and Iran are mainly export most of the world's used oil and natural gas. The strategical points such as Basra Gulf and Hormuz Straits are the open gate of oil transportation. The hegemonic warefare for having oil resources had led to many crisis in the region in the past and still going on. During 1970's ,oil crisis, Gulf War and lastly the Arab Spring had changed the political structure of the region.

Figure 3.17.: Middle East Countries



Source : (www.lonelyplanet.com)

The figure 3.17. shows the Middle East Region and its connection with Eastern Mediterrean countries. In this sense these countries' relations with Israel became more important after the gas surveys of Israel in the Eastern Mediterrean Sea. In the summer of 2002, Saudi authorities arrested a group of militants plotting to sabotage the Saudi offshore oil terminal (the largest in the world) at Ras Tanura. 4 months later that year, in October 2002, the French supertanker Limburg was rammed off the coast of Yemen by a small boat loaded with explosives. In April

2004, Iraqi insurgents attacked Iraqi oil terminals at Khor al-Amaya and Basra and shut down the terminals for two days. In February 2006, the Saudis thwarted an attack on the oil-processing facility at Abqaiq and later seized 1.5 tons of explosives that were to have been used in additional attacks on oil facilities.

On the 17th of September 2006, security officials in Yemen successfully prevented attacks against oil installations at the port of Dubba and the refinery at Mareb. 18th in the fall of 2006, the Royal Navy released a warning to all Merchant vessels in the Gulf to be on the alert for suspicious activities. (D. A. Morran and J. Rusell, 2009: 10) The terrorists, generally attacks to the energy resource targets. Terrorism indicates that terrorist group smounted at least 330 attacks against oil and gas facilities around the world Most of these incidents occurred in eight countries:Iraq, Russia, Colombia, Ecuador, Philippines, Turkey, Pakistan, and Algeria. (D. A. Morran and J. Rusell 2009 : 8) . From a terrorist perspective , the energy sector presents a complex set of problems and opportunities. (Moran Rusell, 2009 : 10). For instance, Hezbollah and its effects in Iran or ISIS in Syria and Iraq .

These groups holds critical-chokepoints in these areas and areas like Strait of Hormuz and Bab el Mandeb. Nearly %40 of oil exports pass through the Strait of Hormuz , nearly %28 pass from Strait of Malacca and % 7 is passing from Bab-el Mandeb (Carlos Pascual&Jonathan Elkind 2010 : 14) . Since The end of The Cold war, the Persian Gulf had represented one of two possible areas of operations around which the Pentagon has built its combat force structure, the other being East Asia. The six Arab States ; Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates have a huge advantages as the world's biggest major oil and natural gas producers. They organized a cooperation council called “ The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) in 1981. They hold $\frac{3}{4}$ of the world oil reserves. China mainly satisfy its crude oil from this area. Iraq is one of the most important energy suppliers of Turkey, starting with Kirkuk-Ceyhan Oil Pipeline in 1977. After 2003 Iraq Invasion, its capacity has been decreased year by year because of increasing terrorist attacks as a result of political instabilities in this country. However, disagreements between Erbil and Baghdad about the sharing of oil income, the continuing threat by the ISIS to the territorial network in the country had not stopped yet.

Figure 3.18.: The Persian Gulf Oil & Gas Fields



This figure 3.18. shows how Persian Gulf is important and proves its strategical battlefield between USA and Iran. The Middle East is also the largest LNG exporting region in the world. This area is the transportation route for oil and gas. Most of US Navy and Iran ships are confront in here.

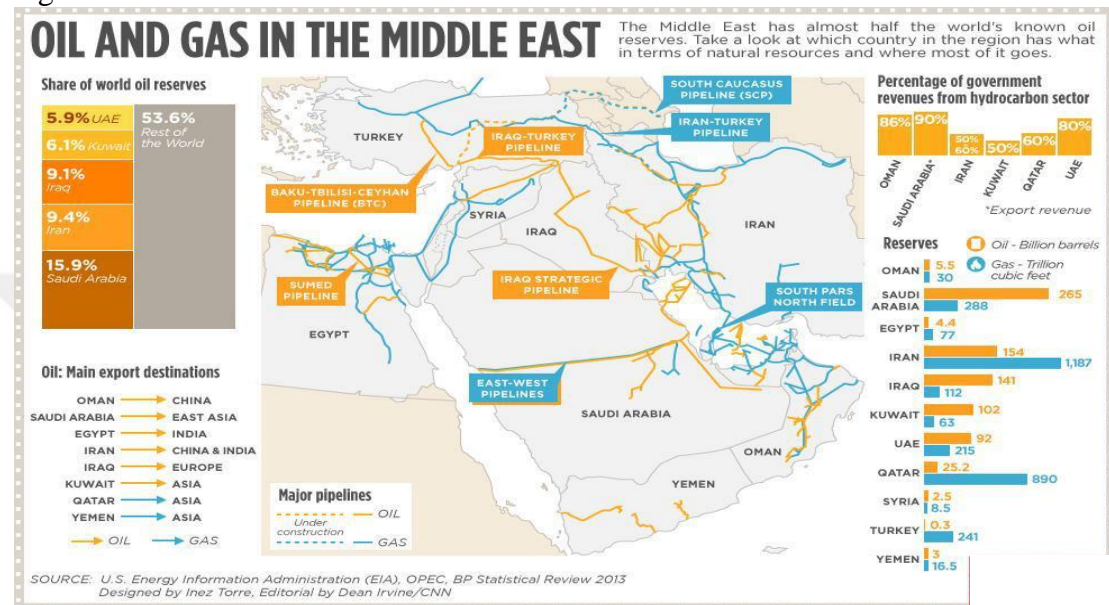
Figure 3.19.: Oil & Gas Pipeline Fields



Source : www.southfront.org

The figure 3.19. shows oil and natural gas pipelines. The world's $\frac{3}{4}$ oil reserves are located in the Middle East and this can be easily seen with the pipelines and its export routes. The geostrategic importance of Persian Gulf makes Iran an important partner for Russia but a potential enemy for USA. USA does not want Iran to control these straits.

Figure 3.20.: Richness Of Oil And Gas In The M. East



Source : (www.cnn.com)

The figure 3.20. shows the energy richness of Middle East Region. The last crisis which consist of applying economic embargo to Qatar by U.A.E again proved that how oil and natural gas resources and their selling and distribution is important by any countries. Today , Qatar's status in the area is the major exporter country of LNG . Qatar is the global exporter leader of LNG in the world. The $\frac{3}{4}$ oil reserves are located in this area. Due to the oil-natural gas deficit most of the Global Powers shape their energy foreign policies according to the Middle East Region because of its rich oil reserves.

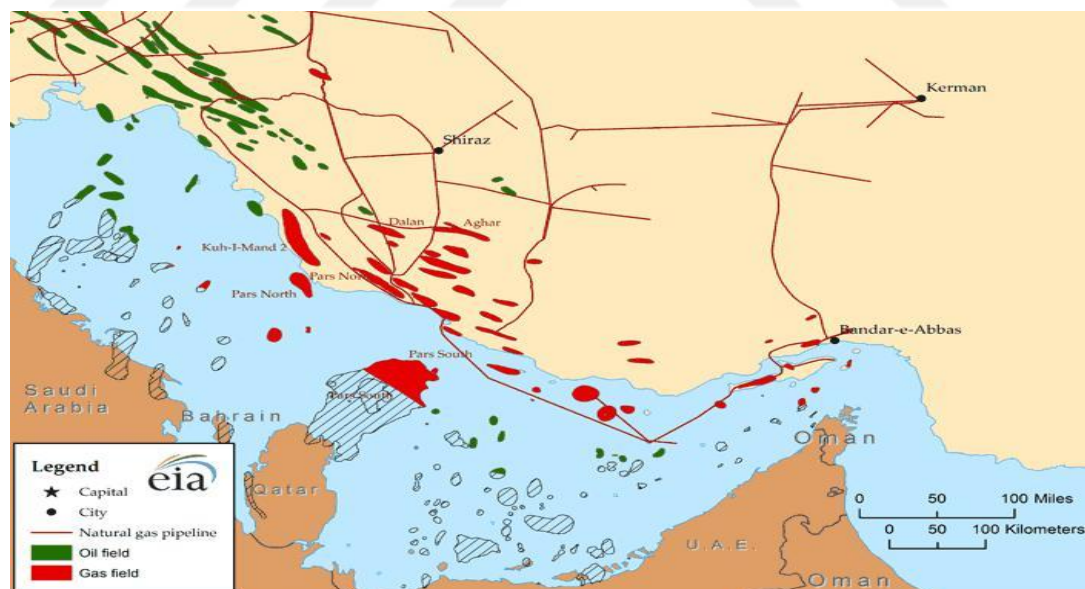
3.6. IRAN

Energy as a geopolitical variable plays an effective role both in national and international politics. Iran is one of the most important actor that located in the World Strategic Ellipse in the sense of natural gas.

Iran with its land scope from Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea brings him a privileged geopolitical and geoeconomical position. Iran is positioned at the heart of

%75 of oil, gas and energy reserves of the globe. Iran is a very important actor in the region. He has rich natural gas and oil reserves. Due to its geographical strategical status, He has a political influence sphere from Yemen to Baghdad, Bahreyn to Lebanon even Afghanistan and Pakistan. Iran is using its Shia sect faith as a political ideology in the region. After the 1979 Iran Revolution his anti-imperialistic and Islamic Shia identity became distinguishing identity of Iran which is different from the other Arab countries. In the end of The Cold War, the East- West wing became more appearent. Russia, Iran, China in one side , USA and Europe on the other side. In the Caspian Sea, Umman Sea and Basra Gulf He has a political effects. Due to its status in sea corner points He has an effects in international sea points. Iran holds the second richest natural gas reserves in the world. Russia becomes first. Due to the its geographical location, Iran geo-economically has the capability to play strategic role in world energy game. The strategic status of Strait of Hormuz where the largest energy transit corridor of the world. Nearly %40 of world's energy export passes through these region. The revenue of Iran which is derived from natural gas was more than 7 billion dollar in 2015(www.turkish.trib.ir).

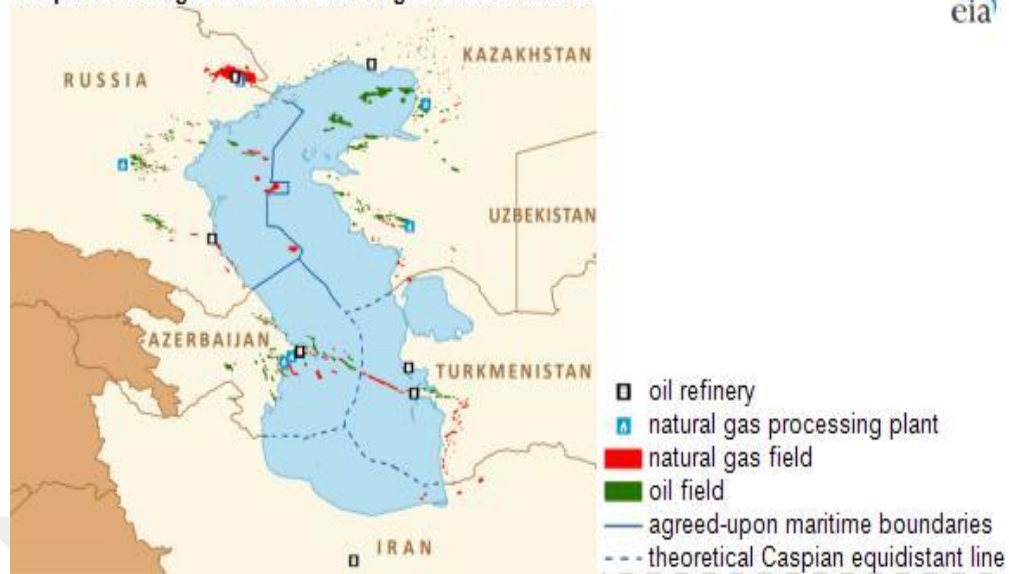
Figure 3.21.: Iran's Geostrategic Location : Persian Gulf



Source : (www.oilandgas360.com)

The figure 3.21. shows the oil and gas fields in the Persian Gulf. This geopolitical importance of Iran is regarded by USA as a potential threat for its oil supply and transport.

Figure 3.22.: Strategic Point Caspian Sea
Caspian Sea region oil and natural gas infrastructure



Source : (www.eia.com)

The importance of Caspian Sea as an oil and gas richness is being showed in the above figure. The international law status of the Caspian Sea is still problematic. These Central Asian countries can not develop an independent foreign policy apart from Russia and USA. Russia seems these areas as a pre-Soviet influence geography and does not want to give the control to the USA.

Figure 3.23.: The importance of Caspian Sea



Source :(www.middleastsense.com)

The black points above shows the oil reserves in the region. As seen above most of the oil reserves are located in Iran territory and in the neighbours of Iran. The Caspian Sea is surrounded with oil reserves.

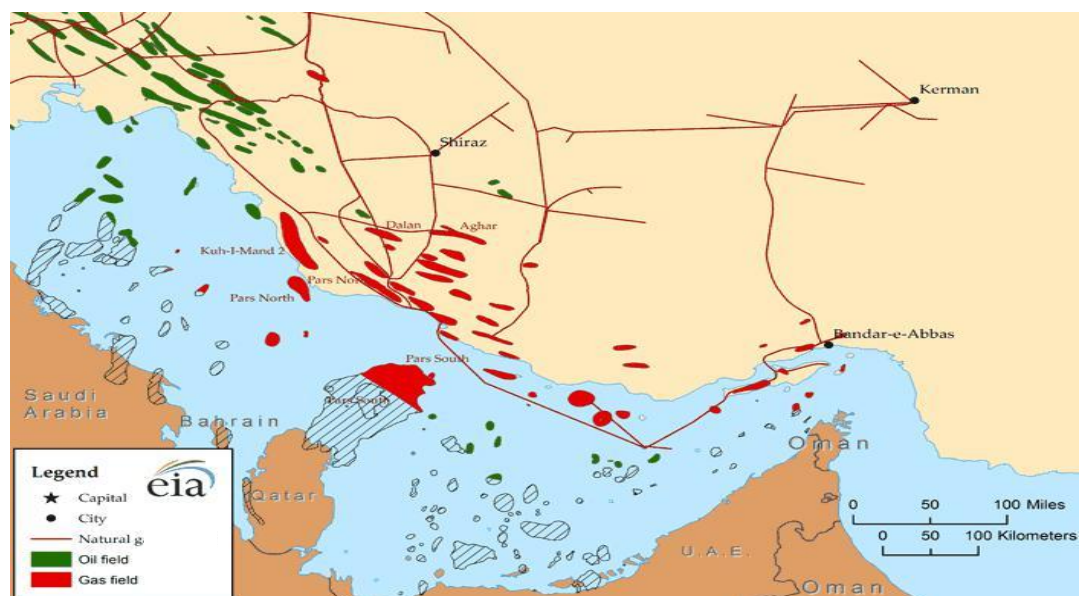
Figure 3.24.: Basra Gulf



Source :(www.bt.net.com)

In the figure 3.24. shows it is being showed that how Iran's location is strategically important for the both global powers and states in the region. The Basra Gulf is the transport route for oil to the Europe and America. This factor increases Iran's and Arab Countries' importance in international political agenda.

Figure 3.25.: Oil And Gas Reserves In Basra Gulf



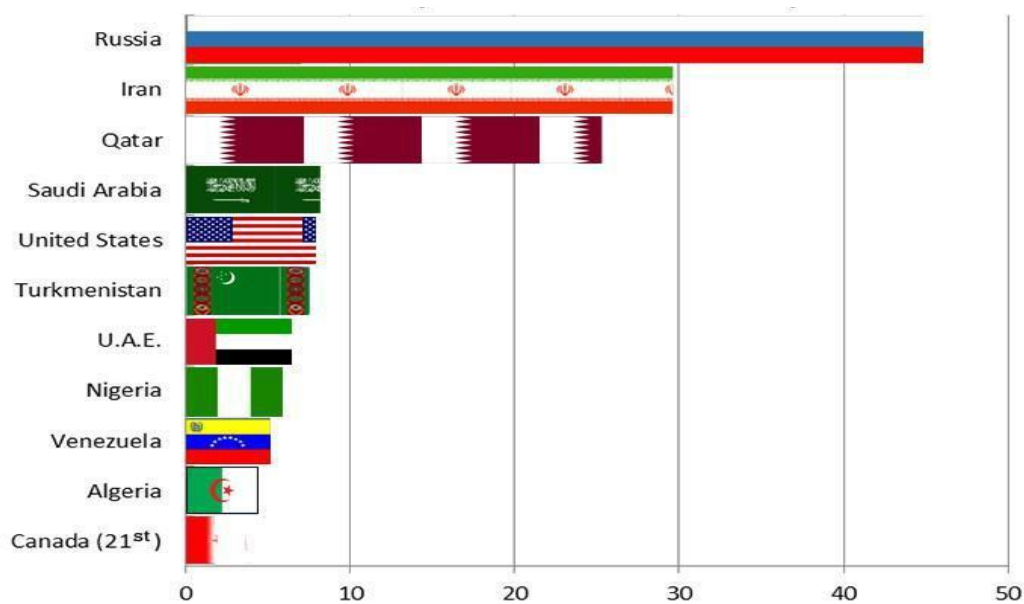
Source :(www.pipeline-journal.net)

As it is seen in the above figures, Basra Gulf and Caspian Sea are the two strategical points for oil and natural gas flow . When this factor is regarded the strategical importance of Iran is very critical for the rest of the world. If Iran close the Hormuz Strait to all ships, the world can confront with an energy crisis. Any energy crisis in the world as it had happened before might lead to increase in the world oil prices. According to 2011 datas, 17 million barrel of oil had passed from Hormuz Straits(SETA Analiz, :132). Therefore, the security of these straits and gulf and the security of Iran is very important for the rest of the world together with the regard of natural gas reserves which Iran have. After the 1979 Iran Islamic Revolution, Iran had always used its shia sect to influence its neighbour Arab countries' political policies.

Iran's military elements can live a potential tension with the USA military bases in the Basra Gulf (Yegin, 2016: 17). Therefore, both USA and Iran had deployed their military bases in the region (Yegin, 2016: 35). Today, Iran is a main actor in Syria, Lebanon, Yemen, Bahreyn and Iraq. Iran uses its shia doctrin to influence the domestic policies of these countries. Iran's support of Hezbollah and Harriri in Lebanon and support of Husi groups in Yemen had disturbed Saudi Arabia and other Coalition Powers. Especially Iran's connection with Hezbollah in Lebanon is regarding as a security threat for both USA and Israel. Saudi Arabia is also regarding Iran as a threat due to Iran's acts with shia doctrin in the region.

The nuclear uranium richment project of Iran is another problem for both Israel and USA. The Trump government decided to extend the nuclear agreement but this is still problematic. The last domestic riots in Iran, also another important event. Iran accused of USA, Israel and Saudi agents from these civillian protests and rebellion events. Iran is using its geographical status and energy card as a "hard power" to deter other global powers. Especially with its national defense industry, nuclear richment project, having rich natural gas resources and status in Hormuz Strait (where the oil transport action happens)all of these factors make Iran as an indispensable politcal actor both in the international scene and in the region.

Figure 3.26.: Countries Who Have Biggest Gas Reserves



Source :(affiliatenetwork.globalvision.com)

The figure 3.26. shows the countries which have richest gas reserves in the world. Russia shares the most gas reserves and Iran follows him as a second supplier.

3.7. SAUDI ARABIA

Today, the military spendings in the Arab Peninsula is more than billion dollars. After the end of The Cold War ; the Arab States such as S. Arabia, Jordan, U.A.E, had appeared in the international scene with the support of USA. Today , after Israel , Saudi Arabia is the most important ally of USA in the region. Saudi Arabia with its oil revenue He is the most leading actor in the world. Today, He is the biggest oil producer and exporter in the world. The oil revenues are sharing %75 of all revenues of the country (Ertan Efegil, 2013: 108). S. Arabia had played an important role in the establishing of OPEC and had played an important role in 1973-1974 oil embargo.

Due to the its rich oil reserves and the being pivot of USA in the region mostly called Saudi Arabia as a “opportunist” state. USA and Saudi Arabia signed a Military Weapon Agreement in May, 2017. The total value of this agreement is 110 billion dollar. The military spendings of Saudi Arabia is much more bigger than other Middle East countries. Saudi Arabia is the third biggest oil supplier of USA. The

lastly Prince Coup, Prens Selman which happened, most princes were thrown from the government. After these things The Prince announced that “ We’re now shifting to Moderate Islam”. All these developments can not be considered independently from USA. Saudi Arabia with its 80 billion dollar military spendings He is one of the leading actors who spends its revenues to the defence sector (Ortadoğu Analiz, 2016: 39).

3.7.1. The Power Struggle Of Iran & Saudi Arabia In The Middle East

These two actors are the most important figures in the shaping of power balance in the Middle East. After the changing of political structures with Arab Spring, these two states had tried to stand stable and had followed a pragmatic and different strategies apart from each other . For instance, the military Coup in Egypt , The Syrian domestic War, The events in Yemen and Lebanon . These two powers always had followed their religious sect as a political instrument in their foreign policy. Saudi authorities always had followed Vehhabi sect, on the other side Iran had used Shia doctrin as a state policy both inside and outside the country. In the 2nd of January 2016, the execution of shia religious man *Nimr* had increased the tensions between two states (Yegin, 2016: 18).

Especially the threat of Iran is considered as an common enemy both for USA, Israel and Saudi Arabia. Due to the Iran’s policies in Yemen (the support of Shia Husi group) forced Saudi Arabia to stand more close to USA and Israel. The last missile launch from Yemen to Riyadh and the domestic rebellion movements in Iran shows the struggle of these two countries. Saudi Arabia does not want to loose its hegemonic power in Arab Peninsula. Especially countries such as Yemen, Bahreyn, Syria and Iraq are the places which Iran and Saudi Arabia make a hidden war with each other. USA is the one of the leading oil consumer in the world and want to secure its energy line. Therefore, to deter Iran’s power, USA need Saudi Arabia as a powerful alliance in the region.

Saudi Arabia feel unsafe because of the potential possibility of Iran to influence the shia population in the Arab countries in the peninsula. The last announcement of Trump called Iran Revolution Army as a terrorist group proves the blocks of USA and Saudi Arabia. After the last rebellion movements in Iran, Iran accused the USA, Israel and Saudi Agents from the rebellion movements. The 5th fleet of USA in Bahreyn is disturbing Iran and regarded as a threat for its oil

hegemony in the region. In 2011, The shia rebellion movements in Bahreyn was supported by Iran, however U.A.E. , Kuwait and Saudi Arabia sent their troops and had protected the exist government (Yegin, 2016 : 20-22). Some of the Western scientist such as *Brezzinski* had announced that the potential sectarian war possibility in the Middle East can be similliar to the European *Thirty Years Wars* which had happened in the 1618-1648.



FOURTH CHAPTER GLOBAL POWERS' ENERGY POLICIES

4.GLOBAL POWERS' ENERGY POLICIES

Some areas or regions in the world have been charming because of its geostrategic status or natural resources which a country have in a certain time of period. The transit routes such as straits, gulfs, seas have been very important since the tribble immigration . Especially with 20th century the oil and gas carrying these corner points have been very important. Therefore, energy geopolity is a kind of balance system which balances global economic and political structure. Energy is the reason of economic and political warfare in the world. The end of The Cold War had caused the collapse of bipolarity of West, and had rised the multipolarity of world political structure.

Globalisation is the new metaphor of our today's world. Global new structures and with the new technologies each world states are being connected to each other. This connection line can be a web portal, or a global product, or an energy pipeline! . This globalization effects and create a mutual interdependence between world states. In this new sense, companies like Microsoft, Google, Gazprom, ARAMCO are powerful as much as a single state. These big huge companies are acting an active role in the shaping of world economy, even in world policy. The speed rate of globalization had forced countries to take preventive measures to secure their citizens' life. The new style of globalization forced countries to apply new tactics against NGOs, MNCs, Internet spy, media, virtual money and so on...so the security concept became widen and changed.

The developed countries want to enter the regions where energy reserves are rich and also want to strengthen their energy security. Therefore, by using their technological skills and financial superiority they force the undeveloped countries to accept their economic and political sanctions. Most of the OECD countries and USA

are addicted to energy import. This economic obligation force countries to develop their own foreign policy strategies according to energy.

In this chapter, energy policies and projections of global powers' will be explained. Each state is following different foreign policies and their security and threat perception are different and changing state by state. Due to the globalisation, the capital is changing hands and wandering all around the world. This activation throughout the countries is leading competition and struggle between countries. This new globalisation is creating new alliances and rivalries between global super powers and other actors. The international political structure and roles of global actors are changing fastly.

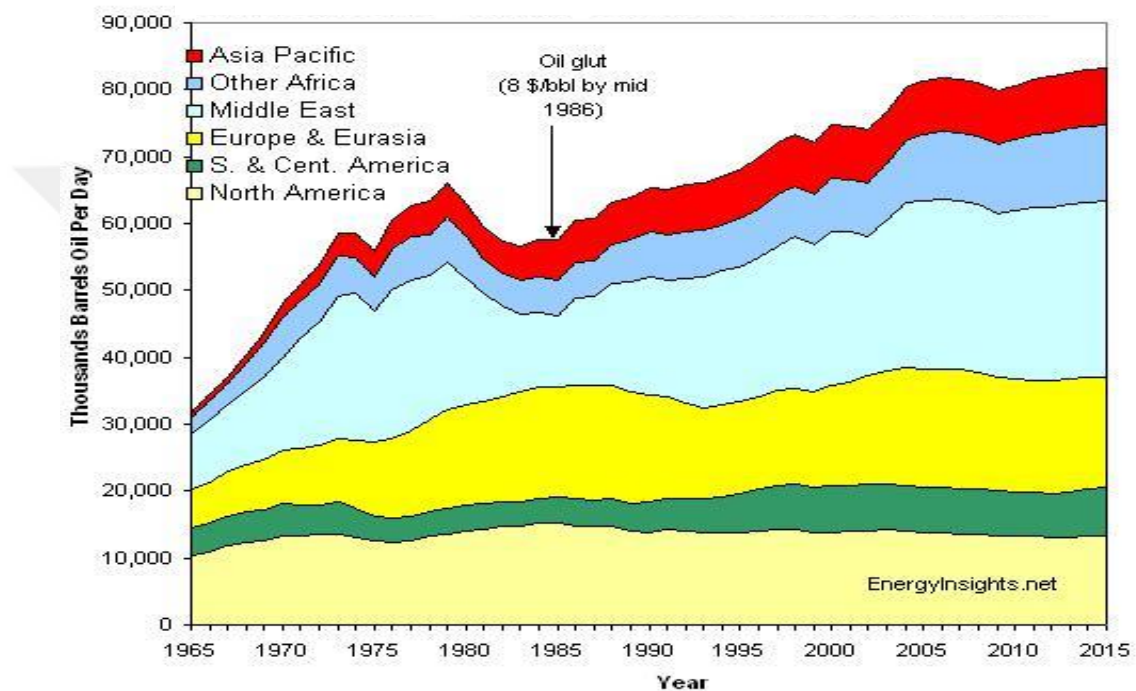
According to Brezinski the international power struggles in geostrategic places such as Middle East might lead to new tensions such as wars, ethnic cleansing, terrorism and international competitions which it is seen today. Due to the huge increases in oil and natural gas demand and consumption this situation lead to new demographic changes and problems in national boundaries. When it is compared with WWII and The Cold War period, there is a decrease in the power and effective impact of USA in the world policy. On the other side, the other global actors such as Russia and China are increasing their powers.

After the second half of the 19th century, in the world policy, the power struggle on the oil reserves had started. Global power actors had intended to control energy reserves and corridors in the geostrategical areas such as Middle East, Caspian Sea, and Caucasus. The decisive factor for the energy policies are the geopolitical regions such as ; Middle East, Central Asia and Caucasus. The developed countries are trying to institute their energy safe roads by following foreign energy strategies. In this sense, the oceans, straits and gulfs in the transition point of the world trade and energy flow became more strategically important. Mackinder and Mahan's land & sea dominance theory proves the importance of having control of these lands and ocean cross roads can make the one state a hegemonic global power of the world.

As it was seen in oil crisis during In 1967 Arab- Israel War, and in 1980, the declare of The Carter Doctrin which had stated that, "any threat to the energy security of the Middle East would be prevented by a USA military operation".

1982-1988 Iran –Iraq War, Suveyz Canal and Hormuz Strait had been closed and this caused a great crisis in reaching oil and its transportation. The world developments in the field of energy, after the oil crisis of the 1970s and the oil crisis of 2004, had proved in strategic energy planning, the improvement of energy efficiency, and the rational use of energy. The political battle and blocks during The Cold War replaced by economic battle today by global powers to take over energy resources.

Figure 4.1.: World Oil Production (1965 To 2015)



Source : (www.energyinsights.net)

The figure 4.1. shows oil production globally has been growing over the last 50 years, apart from a drop in the early 70s and again in the early 80s after oil prices spiked upwards causing recessions.

4.1. RUSSIA

Today, Russia holds the biggest natural gas reserves (48 trillion m³) and also have one of the most biggest oil reserves (72.3 billion barrel). Russia have %27 of the natural gas reserves in the World.(Richard Sakwa, 2008: 78). He is the biggest natural gas exporter and second oil exporter of the world. The super-energy power status of Russia helps him again to control world policy.

After the dissolution of USSR, Russia had tried to establish its power in Central Asia and had tried to settle its pipeline projects in the Europe. By making,

negotiations and partnerships such Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Today, Central Asia is a kind of battle arena which USA, Russia and China want to gain the control. The South Caucasian Region and Caspian Sea have rich gas and oil resources and therefore Russia wants to increase its political effect in these areas.

This region is a kind of battle arena which Russia, China, Iran and USA want to control and establish their hegemony. In South Osetia and Abkhazia Regions in Georgia and in Armenia- Azerbaijan conflict called Nagorno Karabakh always had been a place where political crisis and tensions were high. Russia had been effective. Russia had sold Iskandar Ballistic Missile System to Armenia. This act was regarded as a threat both by USA and EU because the missile system has nuclear capacity.

The new global power struggle for geopolitical advantage. In one of his speech Putin said “We do not consider NATO as an enemy organisation or view its existence as tragedy , also we see no need for it. It was born as a reaction of Warsaw Pact and Soviet Union in Eastern Europe. Today, none of these(Warsaw Pact-Soviet Union) exist but NATO is still exist and growing.” With new members coming from Baltic Republics from Ukraine to Georgia; Russia feels itself more contained (Richard Sakwa, 2008: 47). Russia’s shutdown of energy supplies to Ukraine in January 2006 and to Belarus a year later questioned by other states whether Russia was abusing its energy resources as an instrument ‘blackmail’to its neighbours and pursuing a policy of becoming an ‘energy superpower’.

In 1990s, Russia had faced with greatest economic depression in his history. Putin sought for new approach in his foreign policy. From now on, Russia started to play the game to change its status-quo and play as a “energy super power”. Russia always followed an independent energy policy without joining OPEC. Russia has been working to strengthen ties with other major gas producers without committing itself to a Gas OPEC. After the end of The Cold War, Russia had customized most of the oil reserves and used high technologies. This helped Russia to cheapen its oil reserves.

Russia’s %70 economic revenues are coming from oil and natural gas. Its 160 billion cubic meters of natural gas comes from Ukraine. Because of the pipeline politics Russia has a hegemonic impact on Europe which we can call “European invasion”. Today, Europe buys most of its natural gas and oil from Russia (%30 oil and %50 natural gas). Russian company called Gazprom has many shares especially

in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Besides that, this company signed many contracts with Italy, Netherlands, Germany and France. The most of the EU Countries which are not member of NATO are effected and influenced politically by Russia. As a result, this situation confronts Russia and USA. Russia wants to create a kind of geopolitical influence in EU and partly in Turkey. If Russia succeeds to apply Nord and South Stream Project He will no longer need Ukraine. Russia especially wants to increase its strength in post-Soviet space. By doing this, He would like to increase the dependency of EU countries to him. Russia always want to use energy as a political pressure tool against another countries in the world. The geopolitical advantage and competition still exist between Western Countries and Russia. As it is so clear that in our global world the new Cold War emerges especially in economical field.

After the Ukrainian Crisis, EU applied some sanctions against Russia then as a reaction to this Russia extended the food embargo against EU for one year more. The deployment of USA Army near Poland and the base of Russian Army can be another examples that which are increasing tensions. Today , Russia holds for one-quarter of European supplies. The %50 budget revenue of Russia comes from its oil and natural gas export(Çomak, 2014: 741). On the other hand, Central Asia and Caspian Sea is another power competition region of Russia and USA. Russia tries to establish a North-South Energy Corridor in Central Asia". Therefore, He signed some mutual agreements with Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan between 2002 and 2005. However, the effects of USA is much more than Russia in Kazakhstan, so Russian oil company Lukoil could buy only 4 oil project out of 46 in the country (Çomak, 2014: 741).

The same situation also exist in Azerbaijan which Russian companies only %10 of oil market share. In one of his speech; Vladimir Putin declared the" the world is no longer bi-polar but it is multi polar." (Fraser Cameron, 2009: 24). Russia succeeded this with its energy economic power. After The Cold War, Russia had intensified its relations with energy regions such as Caucasus and in Central Asia and this was this disturbed USA. The developments in the Caucasus, marked by Russia's attack on Georgia during a brief war in August 2008, when Georgia attempted to recapture by force its separatist pro-Moscow region of South Ossetia, will lead to an extremely complicated period in the region. Russia has recognized the two pro-

Russian provinces of South Ossetia and Abkhazia as independent states. (Ziya Öniş, 2011: 21) All these policies lead to confrontation between USA and Russia.

After The end of The Cold War, NATO had expanded from West to the South. This situation had disturbed Russia. Especially after becoming member of Bulgaria and Romania to NATO in 2004. Russia is also largest littoral state in Caspian Sea where oil and gas reserves are rich. During the past days of USSR, still Russia wants to maintain its influence in this region. Today, the proven natural gas reserves in the world is approximately %17,3 and the % 16,1 of produced natural gas need was met by Russia.(BP, 2016)

In late December 2009, Prime Minister Putin inaugurated a new oil export terminal at Kozmino on the Pacific Ocean where in Russia's far east. The terminal has since been used to export oil from new fields in East Siberia. The terminal is being served by the East Siberia Pacific Ocean (ESPO) oil pipeline that runs across East Siberia to China and the Pacific region. Russo-China energy partnership and helps Moscow to diversify its oil exports and reduce its dependence on the European market (Gawdat Bahgat,2011: 161). Today, Gazprom; a Russian natural-gas company is the world's biggest natural gas company.

The leadership of Putin privatization policy was ended and state re-gained its role and power in oil and natural gas sectors such as Gazprom example above. Russia wants to settle its energy monopoly in the world through its huge company Gazprom. The Energy Strategy-2030, Russia is exploring and developing the Arctic hydrocarbon resources. The size of the Arctic Shelf is approximately 4.5 million square kilometers.

The Arctic Ocean is subdivided into several bodies of water, including the Barents, Kara, Laptev, East Siberia, and Chukchi Seas and their adjacent waterways. The various sources have offered diverse forecasts for the potential of Arctic hydrocarbon reserves. They contain 8.2 billions tons of hydrocarbons(Gawdat Bahgat 2011: 162) . Russia with its policy He buys natural gas from Central Asia with the price of 45-65 \$ and sells from 230\$ to European countries. So, He cuts North and South like a knife. According to IEA reports Russia will spend more than 900 billion dollars in energy investments (Bayraç, 1999: 128).

According to some analysts with these action They say, Russia is following a "containment policy" which he did in The Cold War era. This is called " gas

containment policy". Especially its true when it is seen his contracts in Iran, North Africa and Libya. Today, five Million consumers are exist in EU. As a result, this situation makes Russia to act more aggressively.

The total natural gas reserves of Russia compose of $\frac{1}{4}$ of EU consumption. As a result of this they regard Russia as a potential enemy. Belarus, Baltic States and Georgia also depends on natural gas of Russia. The gas dependency of Ukraine is almost %79. Russia always used energy as a weapon and deterrence tool. For instance, He cut off gas to Ukraine in 2009 and in 2006 to Lithuanian (Bayraç, 1999 :128).

After the dissolution of USSR, Russia did not want any ethnic or religious division in his near border geography. As a result of this, He regards any foreign intervention to this region, He accepts as a threat to his national security. Russia regards the dependent states in his near border as a "national security field". The membership of Estonia, Lithuania, Letonia and Poland to both EU and NATO is regarded as a threat for Russia because with this memberships Russia's influence in Eastern Europe and Baltic Sea had been diminished.

In addition to that, the membership of Bulgaria and Romania to EU and NATO also had been complicated of Russia' entrance to Balkans and Black Sea. Russia is regarding the Russian population in its near geography as a domain. For this reason, Russia had established many military bases in his near geography. In addition to that, Russian wants to control the energy reserves and lines in most of the Central Asian Countries such as Kazakhstan, Kirgizishtan, Uzbekistan, Tajiksitan and Turkmenistan. With the mutual agreements signed with these countries Russia wants to transport these energy to West.

4.1.1. Russia & Ukraine Crisis

For Russia, Crimea is a key geopolitical corner, to enter Black Sea and Europe. Crimea is a kind of castle for Russia to prevent any possible attack which could come from Black Sea and Caucasus. The status of Ukraine is a kind of buffer zone between East Europe and Russia. After the end of The Cold War, with the Russian energy transport line Ukraine became an geostrategic player. Ukraine is a pivot state which enusures Russia to have connection with West. According to Russian Parliament Senior Advisor Alexander Dugin, from Ukraine to Abhazya and through the Black Sea line all these are crucial geostrategically for Russia. For Alexander Dugin; any

foreign intervention to Ukraine is equal to intervention to Russia. The red line of Putin is the membership of Ukraine to NATO.

Figure 4.2.: Strategic Status Of Ukraine



Source :(www.financialtribune.com)

The figure 4.2. show, Ukraine is a kind of *open gate* for Russia to Europe. Ukraine is a strategic location for both Russia and Europe. Mostly gas flow to Europe is carried through Ukraine to Europe. Therefore, Russia does not want to loose its control on Ukraine.

Because of the dependency of EU to Russia and for USA and NATO who wants to break the power of Russia, Ukraine plays a very critical role. Under the leadership of Yanukovic between 2005-2010 and especially after the 2016 Ukraine followed a pro- Russian policy. Besides that , the time of Russian base in Crimea was extended by the Yanukovic government.(Mustafa Nail Alkan, 2015 : p37). When Yanukovic came to power He extended the treaty for Russian military bases in Ukraine for more than 25 years which normal time is had ended in 2017 (www.bbc.com, 2014)

After the 2013 Vilnius Summit, Ukraine became more close to EU and USA and with the political pressures of the EU supporters Yanukovic had left the country.

(Mustafa Nail Alkan,2015: 222) . After the left of Yanukovic from country, a dissident provisional management came to power in Ukraine. EU and USA supported this government, and as a reaction to this Russia had increased the gas price from 285\$ to 485.5\$ which He sells to Ukraine (www.euroactive.com, 2014). As a result of this the 4.5 billion dollar debt of Ukraine had been a problem between two countries(www.euroactive.com).

Besides that, Russia declared that He was no longer recognize the new Ukrainen government(just before this crisis Yanukovic government had took 15 billion financial aid from Russia). In February 2014, the protests had rised and finally president Yanukovic left the country and gone to Russia as a political refugee. In addition to these many Russian supporters protested the new government and finally Russia had increased the price of natural gas which He sell to Ukraine. As a result of this protests, on the 16th of March, 2014 a referandum was done about the independency of Crimea. As a result of the referandum Crimea had declared its independency. The developments in Crimea and the annexation of Russia is remembered the days of The Cold War. With the annexation Crimea, it is accepted that the Russia had took the control of Black Sea Basin.

In the elections of May 25, 2014 Petro Poreşenko had won. He was recognized by most of the Ukrainien as a western supporter. However, these elections were not carried out in Crimea. Besides that Ukraine had signed of free trade agreements with EU after that Russia as a reaction of this event, He had cut off the flow of natural gas again. EU and Ukraine had signed a free trade agreement in June 2014 with Ukraine. As a reaction to this, Moscow interrupted gas flow to Ukraine.

Russia is applying different gas prices for each EU countries. In addition to these, with the demand of Russia about 4.5 billion natural gas debt from Ukraine the state had entered in a bad position and had no found any support from EU. As it was seen above, in the sense of energy dispute Ukraine had played a very critical role between Russia and Euopean Union. The European Union countries had not wanted to disrupt their relation with Russia because of the energy dependency. As a result of these, Ukraine became alone in this crisis and had gained no support or aid from any state. Especially problems of Geogia and Ukraine with Russia made them to became more close to West. Most of Russia's traditional export routes are connected to Eruope are passing from these regions.

Consequently, as opposed to USA who is willing to increase its power by establishing bases in Euroasia Russia had gained its power by establishing geopolitical partnerships with neighbour states in Euroasia. Today, During *Astana Peace Talks* which are supported by Russia, Turkey and Iran but USA could not be included. In spite of the economic and diplomatic sanctions which are being applied by both USA and Europe, still Russia is strengthen its position by its role of natural gas supplier and making 10-15 years gas contracts with the countries.

According to Brezinski ; (a USA National Security Advisor during President Jimmy Carter) Crimea is in a status of geopolitical axis (SEMPA, 2002: 89) . If Ukraine can not continue its status as a independent state, Russia can become again turn into a Eurasian Empire. If Russia can control this state it will easy for him to enter Black Sea and Europe and become an empire. As a result, Crimea is a key state for Russia to open its hegemonic supremacy in the world. This crisis which had started in 2013 is regarded as a geopolitical competition between West and Russia in terms of establishing power in Euroasia.

4.1.2. Russia and Georgia Crisis (South Ossetia & Abhazya Dispute)

After the dissolution of USSR, the new ethnic groups and formation of new states emerged in the Central Asia and Caucasus region. Russia always wanted to increase its political effects in its near surrounding. The status of Georgia is another problem. Russia still uses its energy card as political weapon in the area.

This became more clear especially, after the gas interruption in crisis between Russia and Georgia in 2006. In addition to that, the wars in Abkhazia and South Osetia is important. The war between Russia and Georgia has lasted five days. The Saakashvili government with the support of USA and Israel started attacks in South Ossetia. Russia declared his diplomatic recognition of independency both Abkhazia and South Osetia. The war was ended in August 12. On August 26, Russia's president formally recognized the independence of Abkhazia and South Osetia. The aim of Russia with the military intervention was to deter Georgia from being a member of NATO.

In the year of 2008, the independent state status of Abhazya was recognized by Russia. The main goal of Russia in this was the securitization of energy lines and by undermining Georgia's strength, then Russia could succeed to weaken power of

West. The Bush government had wanted to hold on to Georgia as a “transportation route for energy” and a strategic base from which to impose its interests in Eurasia.

Figure 4.3.: Georgia And Its Geopolitical Importance For Russia



Source : (apjff.org)

The figure 4.3. shows, Georgia’s strategic location is a kind of entrance ticket for Russia to Black Sea. Georgia is a kind of open gate to Black Sea and Europe especially in terms of international gas corridor

4.2.3. South, North and Turkish Stream Pipelines

Russia is developing different energy projects with its neighbour states and Europe. Due to this purpose, Russia signed some agreements with many states.

A)South Stream Pipeline: Russia wants to transport the gas from Caspian Sea to Europe by this projects. It was signed between Russia and Italy. The companies ENI and Gazprom signed in 2009. The project was completed in 2015 . The flow of project is from under the Black Sea to the Russia and Turkey. The amount of the project is 10 billion Euro. By this project, Russia wants the Nabucco Project invalid which are supported by USA and Turkey. The project will cross from Beregovaya in Russia , under the Black Sea to Bulgaria. The pipeline has two directions one to north-west crossing Serbia and Hungary and ending Austria the other South west through Greece and Albania linking to Italy.

Russia wants to bypass Ukraine (because of 2013 Ukraine crisis), via this project and cooperate with Turkey. However the project has not been active yet. The project was cancelled in 2014. The companies ENI and Gazprom signed in 2009. The project was completed in 2015. The flow of project is from under the Black Sea to the Russia and Turkey. The amount of the project is 10 billion Euro.

Figure 4.4.: The South Stream Pipeline



The figure 4.4. shows the South Stream Pipeline route which starts from Russia goes on through Turkey and Europe. With this project Russia will succeed to reach Europe with the help of Turkey.

B)North Stream Pipeline : It was signed by Germany and Russia (The companies EON and Gazprom) under the Baltic Sea to Germany. With this project Russia can directly connected to Europe.

Figure 4.5.: The North Stream Pipeline

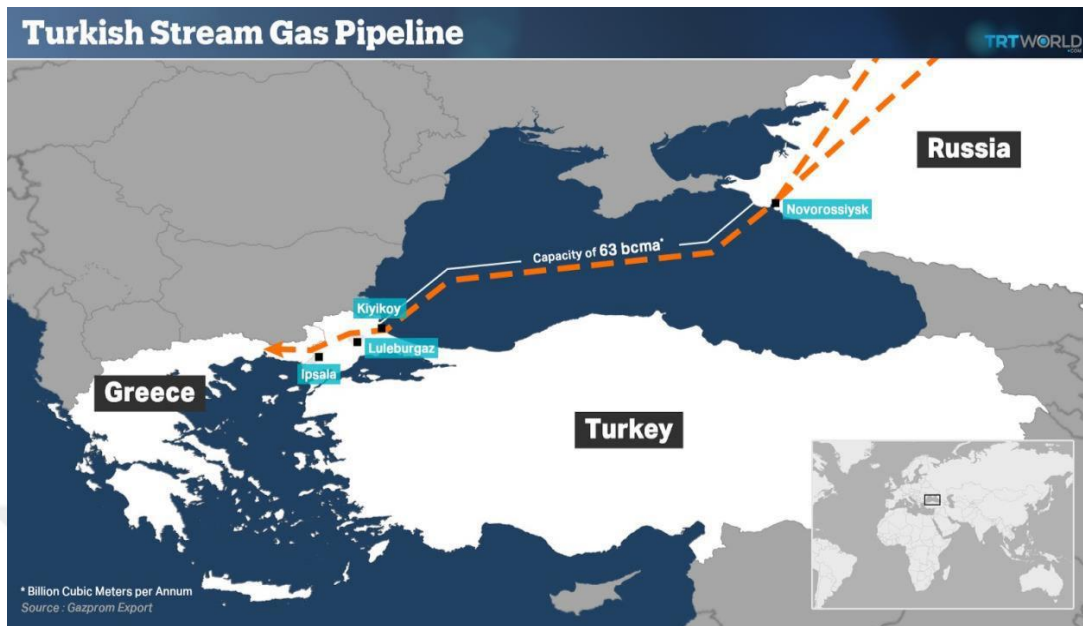


Source :(www.caspianbarrel.org)

The figure 4.5. shows the Nord Stream Pipeline route .

C)Turkish Stream Pipeline : The flow of natural gas from Russia to Turkey then Greece. This project was suspended with last crisis but the negotiations started after January 2016. Its capacity is approximately 63 billion cubic meter. This pipeline Project lastly be accepted in Duma January 2017. The pipeline capacity is approximately 15.75 billion metrecube. The Project will be active by the end of 2019. The length of pipeline will be 900 km. BOTAS and Gazprom work as a joint venture in this project. With the following of acceptance this Project in Turkish Assembly on the 6th of December, surprisingly 13 days later, becoming operational of Turkish Stream, the remarks of Andrey Karlov, the Ambassador of Russian Federation to Ankara, assassinated on 19 December 2016 in Ankara . The %30 part of the project was completed now. Gazprom has decided to invest 3,2 billion dolar to this Project (www.milliyet.com.tr,15.01.2018)

Figure 4.6.: The Turkish Stream Gas Pipeline



Source : www.signalive.com

As the figure 4.6. shows, the pipeline starts from Russia, pass through Turkey and end in Greece.

4.2. EUROPEAN UNION

The first formation of EU as an energy community, had aimed to develop a common energy policy (ECSC 1951). The production of coal and steel with its selling and then , had truned into a supranational level. Today, EU holds one of the most biggest economy in the world. The Union satisfy most of its energy needs by import. Although with his supranational structure and high industry He has limited energy resources. Especially, in terms of oil and gas EU is incapable of satisfying this demand. For this reason, to secure energy supply is very critical for them. For this reason, EU is in need of developing an energy policy for overcome this energy dependency. In addition to that, the diversification of energy supply is also another essential subject for European Union. After the end of The Cold War, reaching the energy resources in the world had become the first and most important goal of the global powers. In 2002, The European Union had decided to create an oil stock which might be enough for 120 days need in the times of crisis(Kantörün,2010: 99). Due to the Russian factor the union had faced with short energy crisis during 2006, 2007 and 2008. In addition to economic factors, to settle its energy security EU

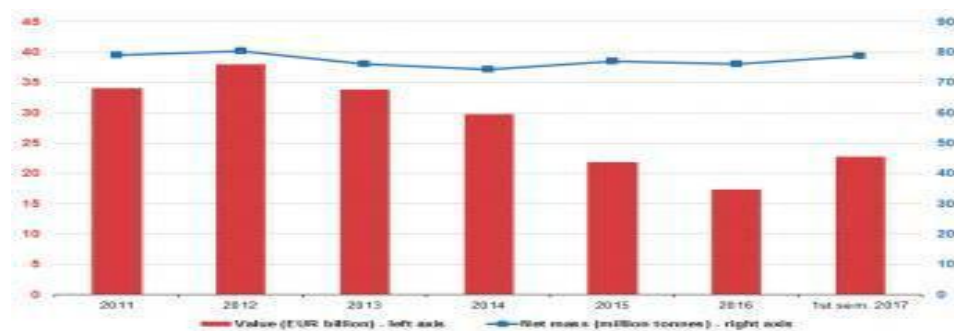
wants to diversify its energy need through buying from different countries. Actually EU, follows some kind of strategies to solve its energy problem.

These are :

- To create competition and energy domestic market
- To diversify its energy
- To create community solidarity in any energy crisis.
- Investment and technology
- To create sustainable development
- To make consensus on common strategic foreign energy policy (especially against Russia

The increases in the demand of Energy throughout the years, had resulted in a great increase in its import dependence. According to International Energy Agency (IEA); in 2020, the European import dependency is expected to reach 90% for oil and 63% for natural gas, in comparison to 50% for oil and 36% for natural gas in 2000.(H.Doukas , A Flamous & J. Psarras , 2011 : 417). Due to the huge gas and oil dependency of EU, The Union wants to secure its energy supply and it is a very strategic subject for the Union. The European Union wants break down its gas dependency to Russia. However, due to the different national interests of each nation , EU can not develop a common policy against Russia. It is predicted that, Russia will satisfy 3/1 of EU energy needs in 2025 (Özkan, 2010 : 7). Therefore EU wants to secure its energy corridors and diversify its energy routes. EU does not want to experience such a tragedy which Ukraine had done with Russia in 2009. EU members and former USSR countries heavily depend on the imported gas from Russia.

Figure 4.7: EU Energy Dependency



Source : (ec.europa.eu)

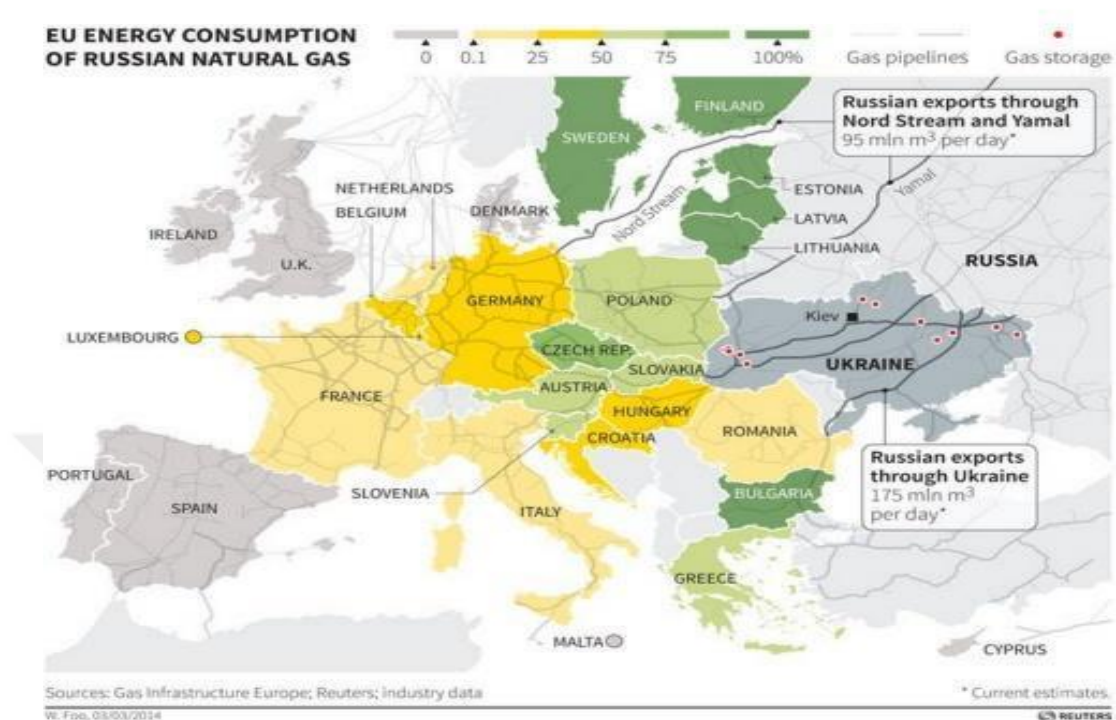
Red: euro billion / blue : million tones (monthly average)

Today, after USA, EU is the number one who consumes energy most. Europe mostly meet its energy needs from Russia. In the following years the oil need of EU going to reach almost % 80(CAMERON, 2009 : 24). In addition to that, the gas security road of EU still in question because of Russia. Today, EU is the most greater importer with its import of % 84 oil and import of %64 natural gas. (Mustafa Nail Alkan, 2015: 219).

In the sense of Ukrainian crisis, EU countries and Russia had confronted. However EU countries have different approaches about Russia regarding in their foreign policies. For Instances, because of the jeostrategical location of Lithuania, Letonia and Estonia to Russia and because of the bigger commercial ties of France, Italy and Germany with Russia no common foreign policy can be developed by EU countries against Russia (Alkan, 2015: 219). As it is seen that, the national sovereignty and common European governance are the problems which EU states have to face with it. EU wants to break its energy dependency and political pressure of Russia and for that reason They are searching for alternative energy routes and suppliers. The lack of reliable and sustainable access to energy is a a clear threat to EU securtiy. EU Energy security of supply concerns every Member State, even if some are more vulnerable than others and each states positions are different.

Especially regions such as the Baltic and Eastern Europe. Russia is applying different price polices for each EU states and this cause new problem for European Union. EU always want to diversify its energy supply sources and yet , They could not succeeded to be a one voice. In the past two decades, energy production in the European Union has steadily declined. Imports represent some 70% of gas consumed in the EU , but are expected %26 to remain stable to 2020 and then increase slightly to reach about 340-350 bcm by 2025-2030 . In 2013, 39% of gas imports by volume came from Russia, 33% from Norway and 22% from North Africa (Algeria and Libya)(European Commission,2014: 8)

Figure 4.8.: EU Import of Russian Gas



Source : www.socioecohistory.wordpress.com

The figure 4.8. shows the dependency of EU countries to Russian gas in the sense of its percentage base .

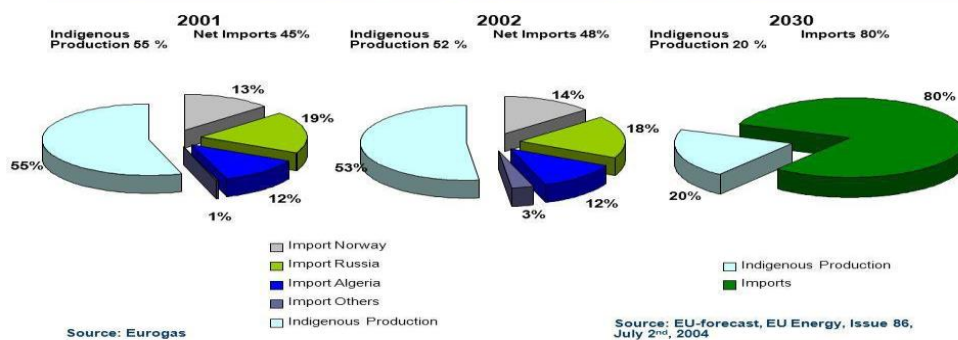
Russia signed a South Stream Pipeline Project with Greece, Bulgaria and Italy.

Apart from Russia, EU has two energy transit alternatives :

- Caspian Sea; reserves of Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan (Turkmenistan has very important energy resources in the region which is more critic for both EU and Russia). Especially EU supports the energy projects in the Caspian Sea which will help him to reach the energy reserves in there.
- M.East; Iraq and Iran.

When it is thought that, the energy market through out the world, Europe stands as a consumer position while other states are suppliers and some are transporters. Due to the huge commercial benefits, states such as Austria, Belgium, Finland, Hungary and Luxembourg, Malta and Portugal do not want to break its political relations with Russia. On the other hand, states such as Poland and Lithuania have unfriendly approach against Russia.

Figure 4.9.: Import Diversity of EU (Sources of Natural Gas Supply)



Source :(www.slideplayer.com)

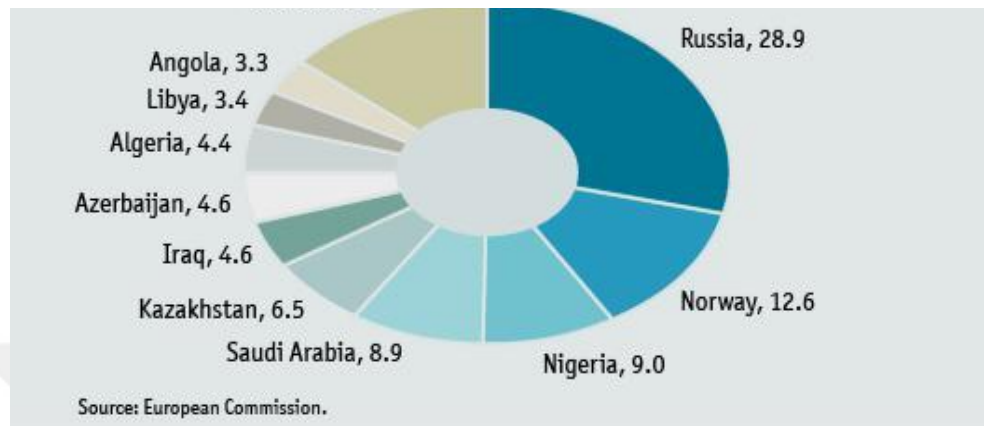
The figure 4.9. shows EU gas imports in time-line graphic and shows its expected rate in 2030. The graphic shows how import trend of EU is increasing in each graphic. By the years, the import dependency of Europe is getting increase. On the other side its production has decreased. They do not want to confront with Russia. (Mark Leonard&Nicu Popescu, 2007). As it was seen EU is divided inside itself and so He can not develop a common Energy Policy and Energy Security Plan. Because each member state has different interests and so He can not develop a common policy.

Today, Moscow is seeking to revise The Post-Cold War and do not want to be part of West anymore. EU wants to break its “asymmetrical interdependence” to Russia. Poland and Lithuania declare that Russia wants to start a “new Cold War “ period with Its- oil and natural gas export-power to Europe. In each crisis, Russia always had used energy as political pressure weapon against Europe. It can be given as examples of Georgia and Ukrainian crisis for this. After the Syrian crisis, NATO and USA had settled most of its heavy weapons into to the Eastern Europe and as a reaction to that Russia started to increase its military exercises in Kallingrad.

After the Ukrainian Crisis in 2014, EU declared a Energy Union Programme in the same year. For example Finland who imports its % 99 of natural gas from Russia can not act independently in its foreign policy towards Russia. NATO had placed military bases in Eastern Europe had been regarded as a threat by Russia. Today, the mutual economic sanctions which were applied by both Russia and EU, EU still

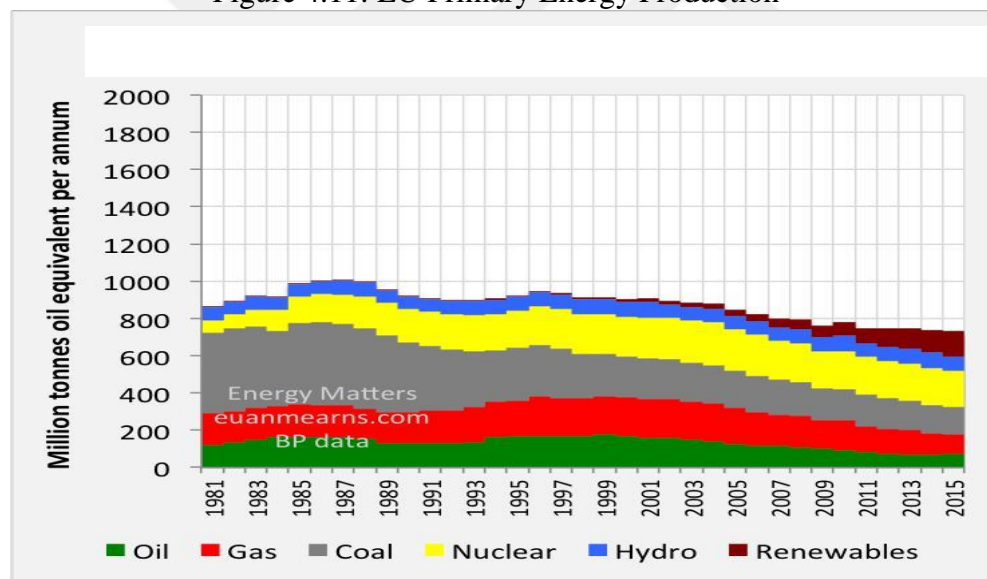
apply sanctions against Russia for the annexation of Crimea and this sanctions were extended by EU for six extra months.

Figure 4.10: EU Import Energy Rate In 2014



The figure 4.10. shows main countries which Europe imports its energy needs

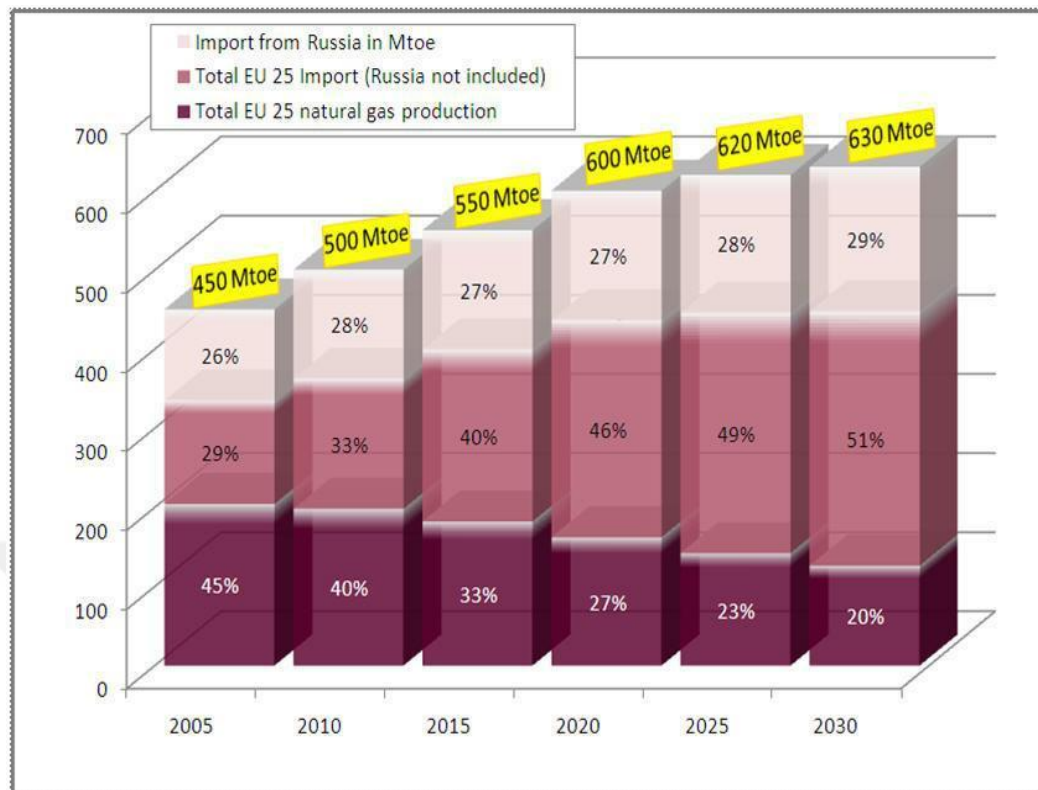
Figure 4.11: EU Primary Energy Production



Source : www.euanmearns.com

The figure 4.11. shows the diversity production of oil resources in million tones which were produced by EU per year until the time of 2015. Hydro and Renewables shares the highest rates. After Ukraine Crisiss , EU began to discuss more about Its Energy Security and passed some laws such as *Energy Union* laws. As a result EU wants to break its dependency to Europe and establish a “ *multiple pipeline policy*” in its geography. EU is now turning to a more open larger geopolitical considerations due to increase its energy diversity need.

Figure 4.12.: EU Energy Correlation



Source : energy.sia.partners.com

The figure 4.12. shows how EU is dependent on energy import and its estimated rate pre million tons of oil equivalent in 2030. The figure shows, how EU gas dependency to Russia.

4.3. USA

USA has one of the biggest economy and developed industry in the world. In each year, the energy need and consumption of USA is getting higher. The first world oil production researches had started in USA, during 1860's. A company called *Standart Oil by John Rockefeller*. This company then divided into four parts which are *Exxon, Mobil, Chevron and Amacco*. Natural gas was used extensively in North America in the 19th century as a lighting fuel, until the rapid development of electricity beginning in the 1890s, ended that era. The United States had large natural gas reserves and was essentially self-sufficient in natural gas until the late 1980s, when consumption began to significantly outpace production (Gawdat Bahgat, 2011 : 23)

After the end of the WWII, USA with his bi-polar hegemonic superiority in the world became more apparent. The end of The Cold War with the collapse Soviet

Communism, USA had sharpened its hegemony in the world policy. Today, USA is one of the leading actor of energy power battle in the world.

Due to its huge energy consumption, He had started to develop energy security strategies throughout the world. USA is consuming $\frac{1}{4}$ of world energy and imports and his % 27 of energy need from outside . Therefore, any little increase in oil prices damages USA more than any other countries. The end of The Cold War, USA had increased its influences in South Caucasia.

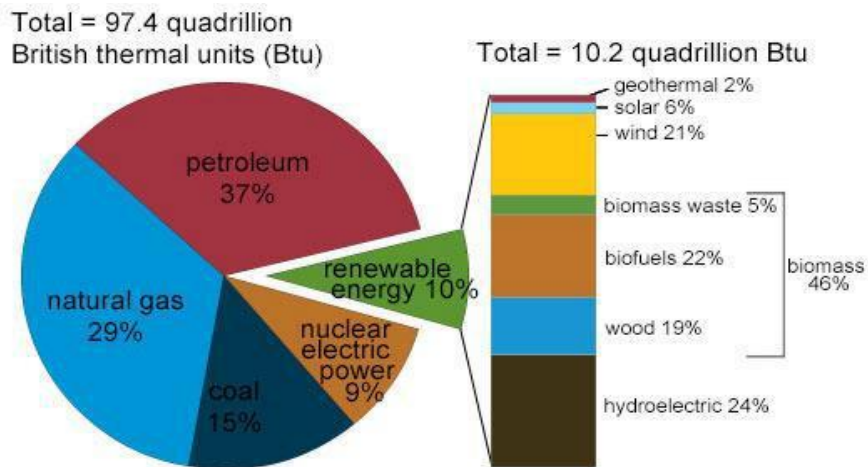
USA had started to enter in the Central Asia Region just after the dissolution of Soviet Union. These Asian states had mass destruction weapons during The Cold War. USA had considered this as a threat and had started to enter in the area. Russia seems this region as its pre-Soviet hegemonic place and very disturbed about USA movements. USA does not want Russia to become monopolic power by pipelines in the world. USA had wanted to establish its power in this region because when He succeeded to do this he could surround the Russia, He could reach the natural reserves of the region, He could surround Iran and finally He could ensure economical advantage over other powers. Due to the status of South Caucasus as a open gate to Asia its importance is realized by global powers. USA is following a policy with the protection of their allies Saudi Arabia and Israel in the region. In addition to that, He wants to break the effects of Iran and Syria in the region. Due to the Russian factor USA supports the energy procejtjs in Caspian and Caucasus against Russia. The transportation of energy resources from this region is a very sensitive issue. USA always had tried to establish hegemony over Central Asian countries in the region and had tried to force these countries and to act independently from Russia. To gain political superiority in the region, USA had supported projects such as; Nabucco, BTE, BTC Projects in the region just for prevent Russian superiority in the region.

American dependence for “foreign oil” has been always be obivous. High oil prices always had been a problem for USA and therefore He had always tried to control oil market mechanism. USA mainly satisfy its energy demand from Canada, Mexico, Saudi Arabia, Venezuela and Nigeria. The vulnerable access to the oil resources effects USA economy. Due to this oil dependency, USA had more focused in the Middle East where $\frac{4}{3}$ of the oil reserves in the world exist. Therefore, USA had established military bases and had followed policies in this region since 1947.

The geopolitical status and rich oil reserves in the Middle East had turned the area into a competition field. The crisis in the past effected always the prices of oil. For instance, during in Iraq war in 2002, in the beginning the oil price for barrel was 2\$ then had rised to 145\$ at the end of 2008... overall rise was reached 400\$ (Carlos Pascual&Jonathan Elkind, 2010: 11). Since 1970, with the Carter Doctrine the defence of Persian Gulf has been the foreign policy strategy of USA(Carlos Pascual&Jonathan Elkind, 2010: 59). After the end of oil crisis in 1973 Carter Doctrin had claimed that any foreign operation or attack to the Gulf (Basra Gulf) had been regarded by USA as a attack to the interests of USA. In addition to that, USA would made military operations. Approximately, half of the world oil trade is being carried out in the region of Basra Gulf. USA sells most of his weapons to Arab countries in this region. There are many military bases of USA which are exist in this region. So, as it is seen that, from a national security perspective oil-producing countries can impose power over USA hegemony. The Persian Gulf that has the shores with almost eight states: Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Bahrain, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates.

The most important point is that, the coastal provinces possess %80 of the world's proven oil reserves. The USA perceives that; if any interruption happens in the oil supply because of the blockade of Strait of Hormuz, Bab- al-Mandeb or Suez Canal it can effect the oil prices or instabilities because of war or terrorism can hamper oil markets and affect the economic condition. Arabian Sea is the route that supply from Gulf countries, and to Gulf countries therefore, Arabian Sea is always a "region of oil demand" for USA. USA is planning for future and Arabian Sea is the route to energy supplies therefore it's very combined task forces are combating piracy and terrorism. Today, USA is one of the major states who consumes energy most. Actually USA is the 2nd biggest energy consumer after China.

Figure 4.13: US Energy Consumption Percentage In 2016

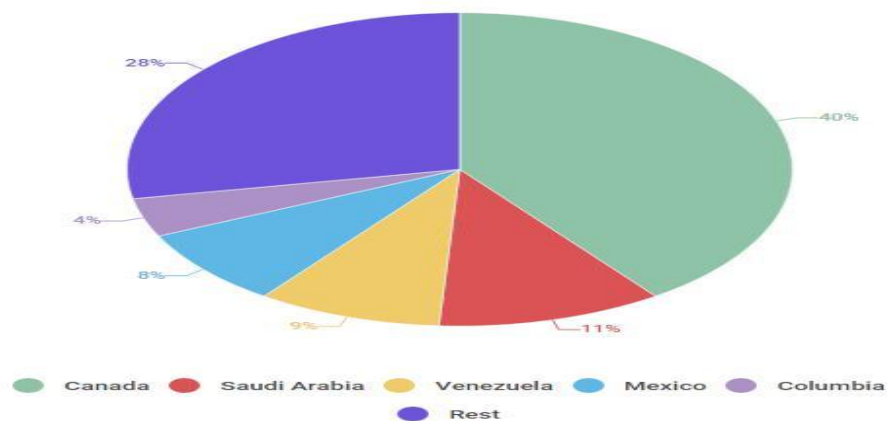


Note: Sum of components may not equal 100% because of independent rounding.
 Source: U.S. Energy Information Administration, *Monthly Energy Review*, Table 1.3 and 10.1, April 2017, preliminary data

Source : (www.eia.gov)

The figure 4.13. shows the USA energy consumption diversity in 2016. The biggest share belongs to oil and natural gas. Biomass usage shares the highest.

Figure 4.14: USA Oil Imports In 2015

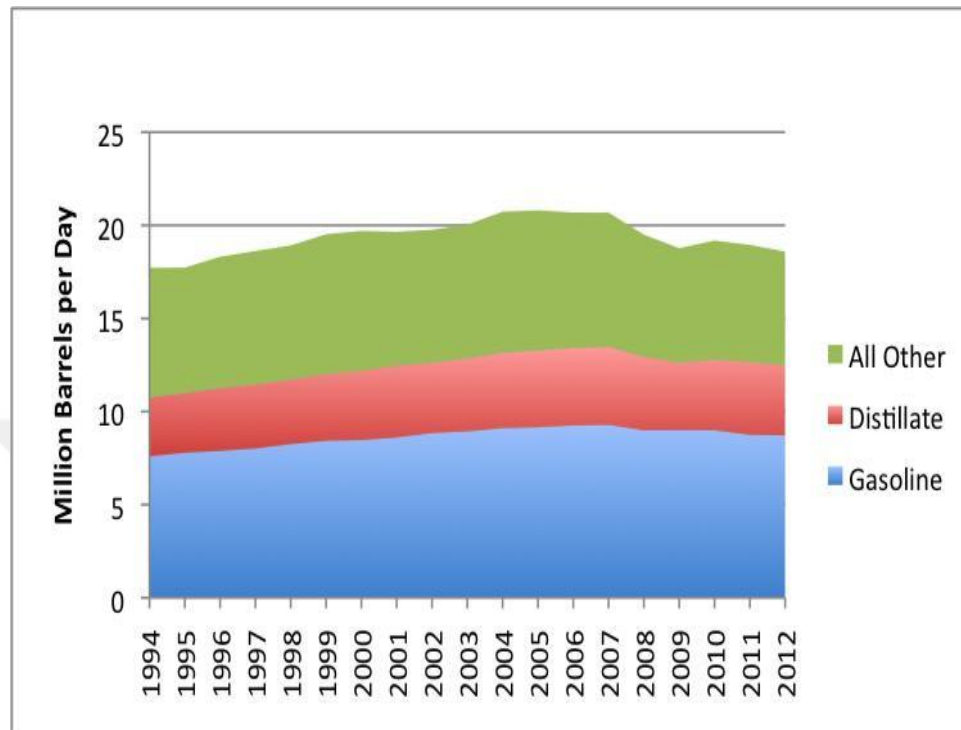


Source : (www.quora.com)

The figure 4.14. shows the main oil exporters which sells oil to USA. Canada shares the highest rate. Natural gas production in the U.S. has annually increased

over %40 in the last decade (Ertürk, 2018: 34). EIA estimates that USA will become an gas exporter soon.

Figure 4.15.: US Oil Consumption Diversity



Source : (www.infinitemworld.com)

The figure 4.15. shows the diversity of USA oil products consumption per types until the year of 2012 . USA has increased its military bases in Baltic states in the recent months. Besides that, NATO had increased its military exercises in recent months too, in the same region. All of these can be easily understood with all of these developments when it is thought about the crisis of Syria and annexation of Crimea with Ukrainian crisis. In the recent years, USA always tried to establish its hegemony through military bases in Euroasia. As opposed to USA ; ,Russia always tried to establish its hegemonic power with economical movements by signing energy treaties. The shifts in oil flows are significant factor in reconsidering the USA global role. USA had built missile shield system in southern village of Romania, called Deveselu in 2016. On the other side, military heap which was launched by Russia in Black Sea Region was regarded as a security threat by NATO and USA. According to Brezezinski ; (a Former National Securitiy Advisor of Carter) had declared that; with the end of The Cold War ,USA should institute its global hegemony only by doing control of the Middle East and Central Asia.

Figure 4.16.: Geopolitical Importance Of S. Caucasus



Source : (www.owlaction.com)

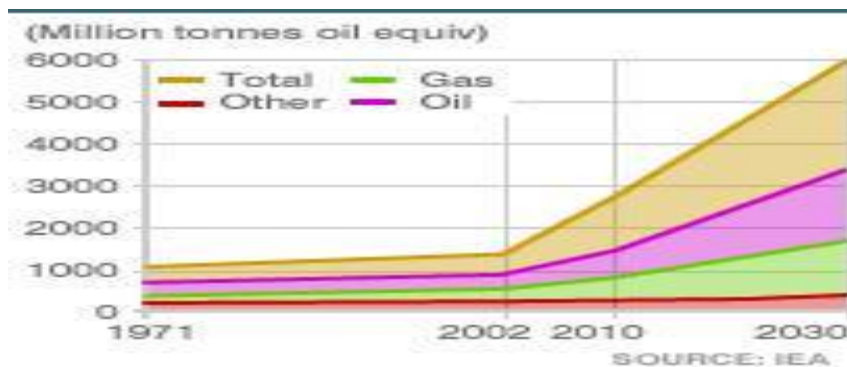
The figure 4.16. shows the Caucasus region and states it is. It is estimated to that; the nuclear spendings of USA will be 400 billion \$ between 2017-2026 (Amerika'nın nükleer yatırımı, Yeni Akit 03.07.2017).

4.4. CHINA

China is holding approximately %20 of the world population. China, with its huge economy, it is predicted that with its domestic production capacity He will overtake USA in 2020.(Gawdat Bahgat, 2011: 59). On the other side, He consumes %8 of the whole world oil production by on his own. According to China, its energy need is a strategic security problem. China plays the leading role in both world economy and policy. The veto power in U.N Securitiy Council ensures him to become more active in world policy. The energy demand of China is getting increase in each year. The economical and industrial development in the country had lead to huge need in energy resources.

China has been the largest energy consumer in the world by overtaking USA since 2010.(Gawdat Bahgat, 2011: 59) . China has the second biggest economy in the world, which USA is the leader. The population and therefore over consumption are the reasons for that. CNPC is China's largest oil and gas producer and supplier. This company has many investments in four different continent. The financial value of these investments are more than twenty billion dollars. (Gawdat Bahgat, 2011: 59).

Figure 4.17: Energy Demand Of China



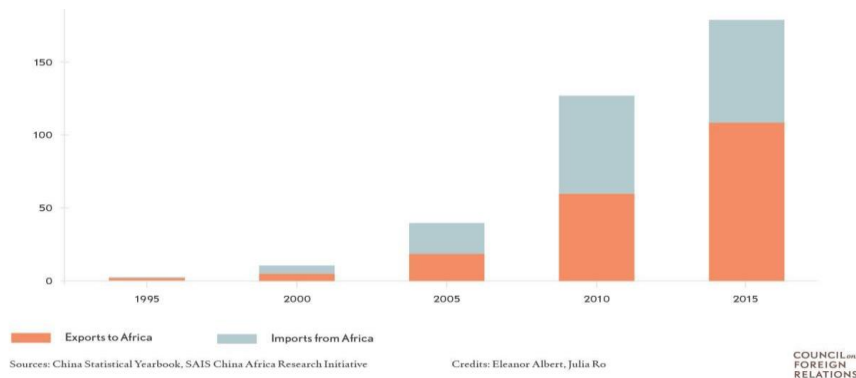
Source : (news.bbc.co.uk.)

The figure 4.17. shows the increase in China's energy demand and its expected rate in 2030.

Egypt was the first regional power to establish diplomatic ties with Beijing in 1956, then Iraq in 1958, Iran in 1970, Kuwait in 1971, Oman in 1979, the United Arab Emirates in 1984, Qatar in 1988, Bahrain in 1989, and Saudi Arabia in 1990. In addition to these; mutual relations, China had developed relations with regional organizations such as the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) (Gawdat Bahgat, 2011: 64). China also increased its military role by its forces in Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean. China mainly satisfy its oil and natural gas needs from Iran. Iran also imports its military demands mostly from China.

Chinese state-owned oil companies are aggressively pursuing oil exploration and development operations in Angola, Equatorial Guinea, Nigeria, Republic of Congo, and Sudan among others (Gawdat Bahgat 2011: 66). The natural resources and minerals of Middle and South Africa are the main focus points for China. The rich raw materials in the region is attracted by global powers such as China, USA and Europe. China with its low labor force and cheap raw materials He had been made many investments in Africa especially in the fields of infrastructure. China with its non-imperialistic state structure it is welcomed by African countries which had been suffered a lot due to the imperialistic attacks of the West during World War II. In recent years, China had developed many energy relations with Iran, Iraq and Saudi Arabia in the Middle East region. The Persian Gulf is the number one oil and natural gas resources for China. Besides that, China has become a major trade and energy partner to several African countries.

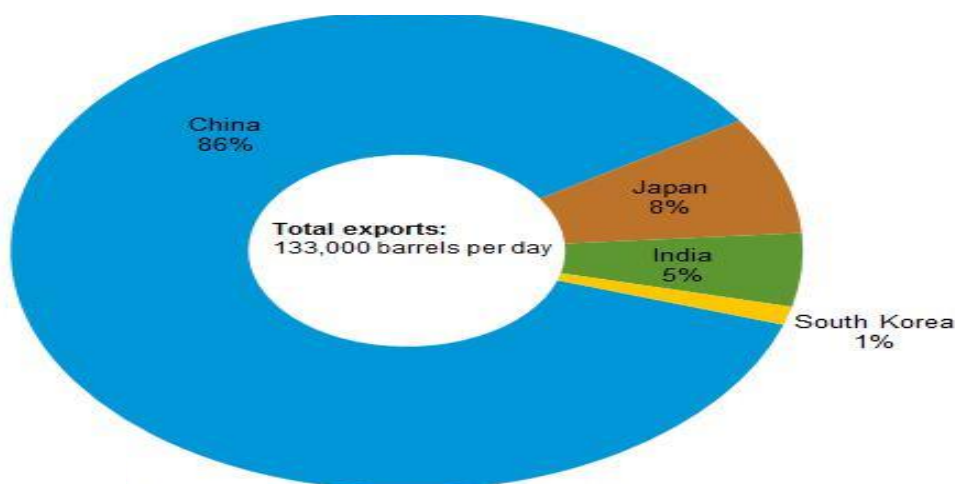
Figure 4.18: China Trade With Africa



Source :(www.cfr.org.)

The figure 4.18. shows the export/import balance of China with Africa is so close to each other. China's second-largest source of crude imports after Middle East is Africa. Especially Sudan is the number one in sense of crude oil sales to China. Angola shares the 2nd . Most of the PRC's companies are partners of Sudan crude oil consortium. China is following a merchantalist policy for provide its energy and energy security. Most of (%80) is coming from Sudan . (Gawdat Bahgat 2011,: 71) Africa is a big market for China to sell its goods and import crude oil. China has an opportunity in Africa, to buy the energy together with its land.

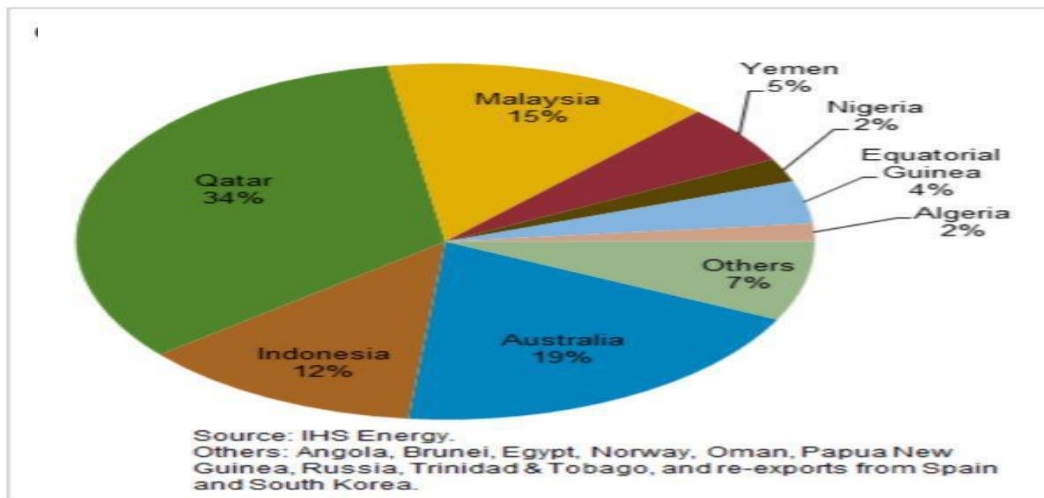
Figure 4.19.: Sudan – China Oil Trade



Source :(www.globalsecurity.org.)

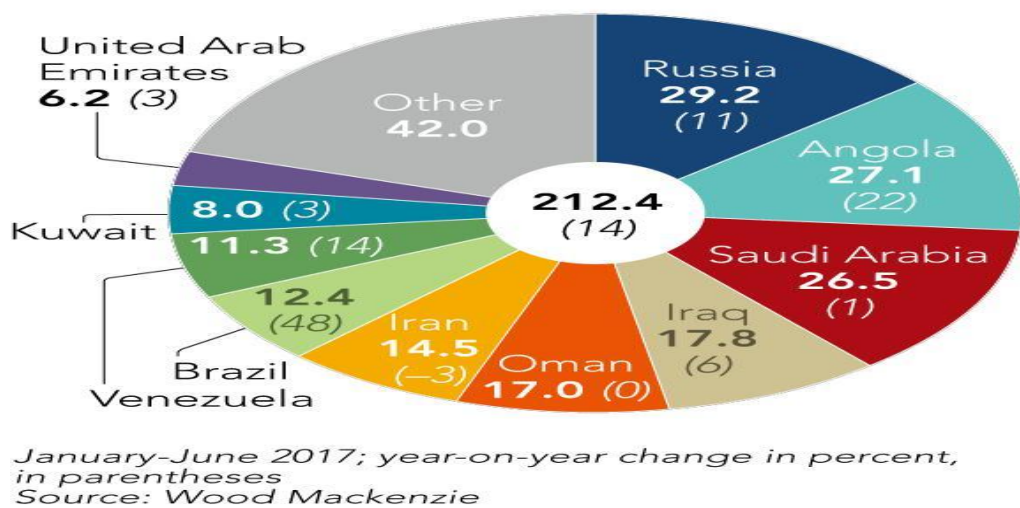
The figure 4.19.. shows Sudan is the number one oil supplier of China .

Figure 4.20.: China LNG Import Diversity



The figure 4.20. shows Qatar is the 1st biggest supplier of LNG for China

Figure 4.21.: Chinese Crude Oil Imports



Source :(www.zerohedge.com)

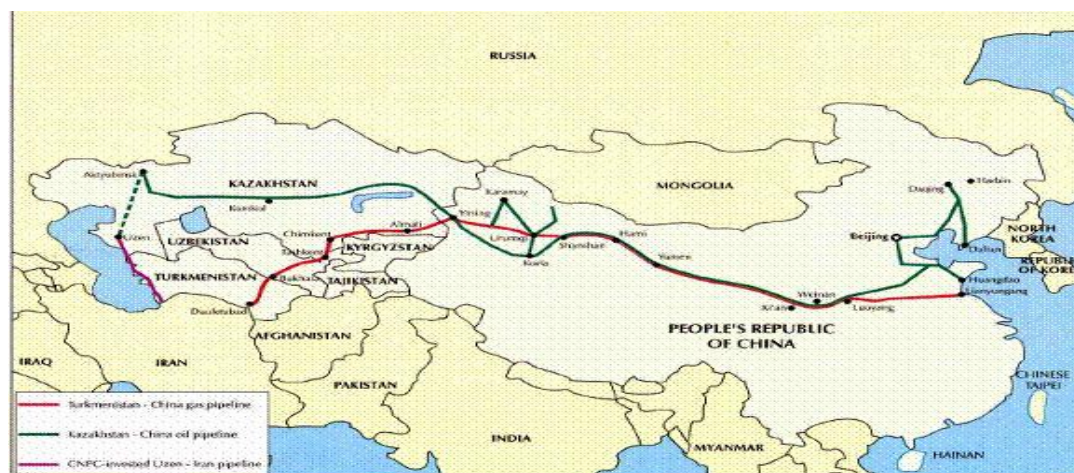
The figure 4.21. shows the oil import rate of China per million tons for each country in last year. Russia shares the 1st rank for selling oil.

On the other side , the first focus of China is the hydrocarbon reserves in the Central Asia. China has strategic agreements with Central Asian countries

since 1990s. With the early months of 1995; China had started to import its energy needs. China imports oil from Kazakhstan via a pipeline that runs from Atasu in north-western Kazakhstan to Alashankou in China's north-western Xinjiang region. The pipeline was built which lasted most of the 2000s.

In addition to that; oil supplies from Kazakhstan, China has negotiated and signed agreements to import natural gas from Turkmenistan. In 2009 : The China Development Bank gave \$4 billion in credit to the Turkmen state-run gas company called Turkmengaz ,Turkmenistan agreed to supply 40 billion cubic meters of gas to China annually for a period of 30 years. At the beginning of 2009, Chinese energy import degree had raised the top. The pipeline transporting the gas starts near Amu Derya River. (Gawdat Bahgat ,2011 : p70). The Central Asian Natural Gas Pipeline has been active since 2009. With this project 138.6 billion m³ gas was carried from Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan to China in 2016 (www.turkiye-turkmenistan.com, 2018). However; Central Asian countries also mainly under pressure of Russian Federation , so China can not act freely in this region. Russia and China put into force the Eastern Siberia-Pacific Ocean Oil Pipeline (ESPO) into service. It operates more than 3,000 miles from Russia's central Siberian oil fields to China and the Pacific coast.

Figure 4.22.: China – Central Asian Pipeline



Source :(www.energeopolitics.com)

The figure 4.22. shows the Central Asia – China pipeline routes.

As a result , the rise of China as an energy power by increasing his influence in global world this situation threatens USA hegemony in the today's world. The location of China in East Asia gives him an opportunity to access ocean and markets

of the Pacific Rim. The potential increase in the geopolitical capability of China regards as a threat for USA. Thus, China had been disturbed about the existence of USA navy in the Pacific Ocean. Therefore, China will apply policies designed to expel the United States from its influential role in the region.

China may challenge the United States' superiority in sea, air and space power (for warships, jet fighters a bombs, and ballistic missiles with weaponsof mass destruction). China is also very disturbed about the military bases of USA in Asia-Pacific Sea and He wants to control South China Sea only by itself. China's national security concept mainly focus on East and South China Sea . The USA influence in these sea islands and its effort to limit Chinese effect sphere is perceived as a threat by China. This hidden battle in South China Sea will effect countries such as Phillipines, Vietnam, Malaysia and Brunei. These countries will have to take place in one side between these super powers.

China has to sustain the securtiy of the seas such as Indian Ocean. Becuase these oceans are very essential for China in the sense of their way of energy transport routes. The oil consumption of China is predicted to be 13 million barrel in 2030 (Pamir, 2010: 85). In the next years, it is expected that China will have the biggest industry in the world. China is mostly determining its foreign policy according to its energy interest. China is also very disturbed about the military bases of USA in Asia-Pacific Sea and He wants to control South China Sea only by itself. China's national security concept mainly focus on East and South China Sea . The USA influence in these sea islands and its effort to limit Chinese effect sphere is perceived as a threat by China.

The PRC's energy consumption consists of coal(66% in 2012), oil (20%), hydroelectric power (8%) natural gas (5%),renewable energy (1%) and nuclear energy (less than 1%) (S.Liedtke, 2017: 660). China imports its Liquefied Natural GAS(LNG) mostly from Qatar. China such as the other global powers its main focus is to settle its national and energy security strategy by keep safe pipeline routes and to get safe energy supply. In addition, Chinese industry, which is the major consumer of coal today, will increase its natural gas and electricity share in 2040.

In the recent years, China had made many investments in Europe to increase its energy supply chain diversity. Between 2000-2015 The main part of the Chinese investments in energy consist of oil and natural gas(%74) (S. Liedtke , 2017 : 661).

There is a kind of mutual dependence between Europe and China. However this dependency is asymmetrical because of there is a huge trade deficit when compared both countries. According to 2015 statistics; the amount of import which Europe did from China is 350 billion \$, on the other side Europe export to China was only 165 billion \$(Emine Akçadağ Alagöz, 2016 : 42). Today, Europe is a big economical market for China and for this reason He has been increasing its export to Europe since 1990's. Today, China imports 3 million barrels of oil per day, which accounts for almost half of its total consumption(Daniel Yergin, 2006: 35).

China's share of the world oil market is about %8, but its share of total growth in demand since 2000 has been %30. (Daniel Yergin, 2006: 36). There has also been diversification in supply of crude oil in the world today. Due to the great economies of USA and China, the demand for crude oil and its allocation and chain is a arena for global struggle. These two countries consumes the crude oil more than other country economies. Today, because of the rich hydrocarbon reserves in South China Sea, this area is a battlefield between China and USA. USA is accusing China by making military islands in the South China Sea. China says that USA or any other third parties should not interfere the sea regime only ASEAN members should deal with.

The effect of Shanghai Cooperation Organization had increased the geopolitical influences of both Russia and China in Central Asian Region. Therefore, USA feel itself under more threat than because He loses his bi-polar hegemonic power in the world. Due to the effectiveness of USA and NATO especially in Black Sea Region and Central Asia, Russia and China came together under this cooperation(SCO) so they might establish a strategic partnership against USA and NATO. China, Russia, Kirghizistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan are the founder members of this Cooperation. In June 2017, India and Pakistan became full member of the Organization. Turkey's status is now in a *dialogue member* in the Organization. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization with its huge economic sphere, It contains %20 of the world economy(Erdem Eren, 2017: 79). When it is considered that the permanent membership of Russia and China in U.N and regard the rich oil and natural gas reserves in their region the Shanghai Cooperation is a kind of Energy Club and its effectiveness in the world policy and economy is undeniable. With this organization China had wanted to develop a common energy cooperation between Asian

Countries and Russia (Jewell, 2014: 5). By doing this China and Russia had wanted to break the political influence of USA in the Central Asia. In addition to that, by this Organization (SCO) Russia and China want to prevent the expand of EU and NATO into the direction of east. China wants to satisfy its oil and natural gas mainly from these Asian Regions rather than Middle East. So, China might break its oil dependency to Middle East countries if He can develop more good relations with these Turkestan States. For instance, He mostly got into relations with M.East Countries for oil and gas but on the other hand He does not interfere their domestic problems or political regimes (Jewell, 2014: 5) .



FIFTH CHAPTER TURKEY'S ENERGY CASE STUDY

5.1. TURKEY'S ENERGY CASE STUDY

The global energy policies of each country has been shaped by different strategies. Every global actor is focusing on to secure its energy supply. Today, energy reserves and their holdings are very vital for the countries. Turkey as the other states, is trying to develop its economic structure with this concept. Especially, when it is considered that, the geo-strategic status of Turkey, this energy concept became more critical and strategic. Due to its geographical location; Turkey's importance in the world politics is so important and also which is always critical. Turkey is an important country when it is considered the world's energy chain ring. The East-West linkage with Turkey's role as a bridge gives him very strategical corner stone actor. It is very clear that, Turkey will continue on to carry out the pipeline projects through its territory for the transport of oil and natural gas from Iraq, Iran, the Caucasus and Central Asia to European markets. Turkey has limited fossil fuel reserves and limited production. Therefore, Turkey is mostly dependent on to the outside energy resources. This dependency is approximately more than %70 (Pamir,2010: 58).

Turkey's energy policy is also effected by global politics and energy strategies. The oil reserves in the country is between 13-15 million barrel (Pamir, 2010: 58). The gas reserves which are consumed in the country is approximately between 16-18 billion m³(Pamir, 2010: 59). The gas need of Turkey will be predicted to be 62 billion m³ (Pamir,2010: 59) . In the sense of energy, Turkey should focus on its national interests and its own security perspectives.

Turkey's energy transit corridor role is increasing in each year. Turkey's geographical status in the world, makes Turkey to play an energy transporter role. Especially, in the sense of Eurasia corridor, Turkey's role is getting increase. In

energy matters, Turkey is mainly dependent on to foreign resources. He satisfy its %70 of its energy needs from abraod. The %65 of this import is coming from Russia (Ulutas,2018: 11) . Together with the globalization; each state are determining their security concepts with different dimensions and components. Especially with the start of Syrian War in 2011, Turkey had faced with many problems such as; migration , human trafficking and terrorism. The near geography of Turkey now currently facing with many crisis and turmoils in these days and Turkey is mostly being affected from this tensions in the regions. If there is no political stability in a country . This will make a country more open to any military intervention.

Today, when it is regarded the political crisis in the Middle East and North Africa which have been started with Arab Spring, all these developments can not be considered without economy or energy perspective. The global powers such as; USA, France and England wanted to shape these areas according to their economic and political interests. In addition to that, USA had wanted to secure of Israel from any threat in the Middle East.

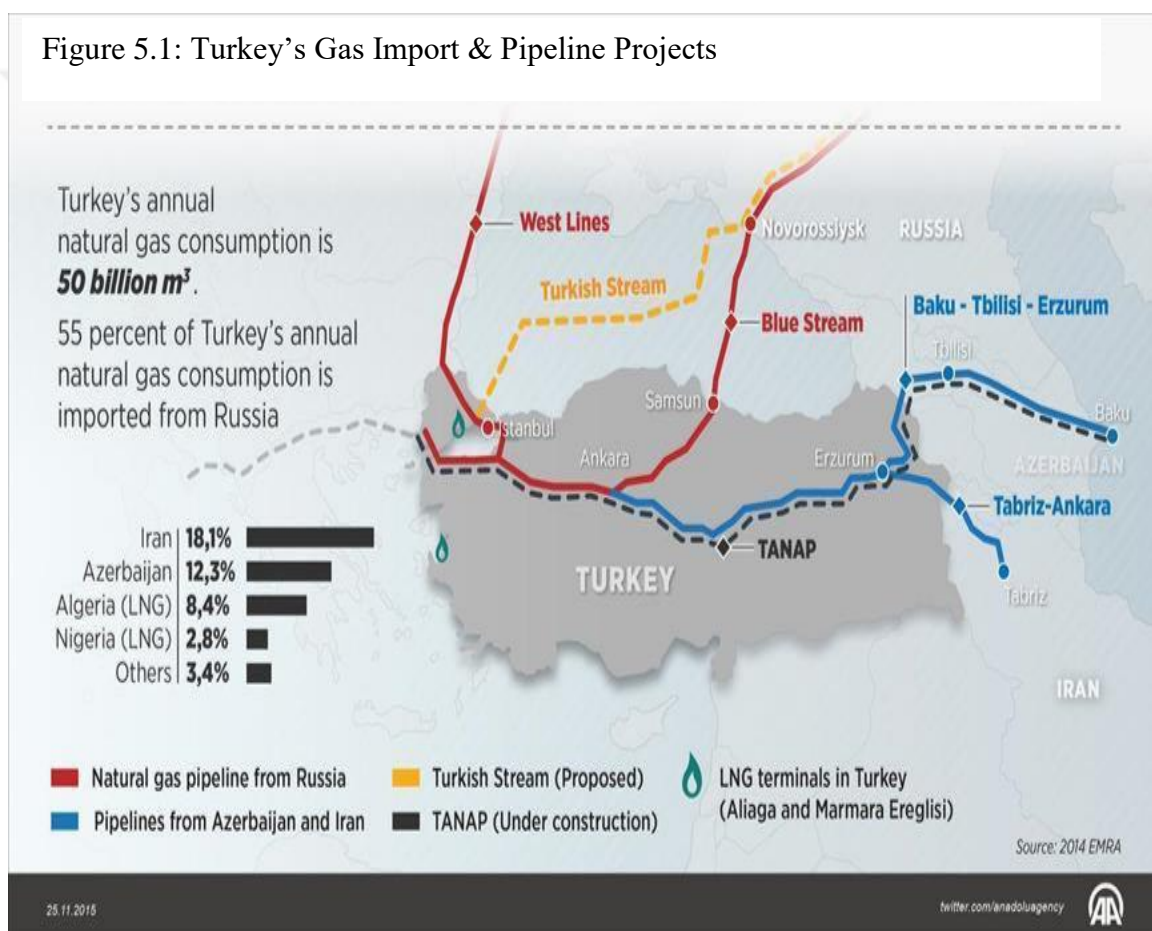
In this respect; its geopolitical status with its transition location the energy corridor role of Turkey appears more. This geographical status brings Turkey both advantages and also brings security problems. This geostrategic status of Turkey is very important for the rest of the world, especially in terms of power structure of world politics. However, this geostrategic status of Turkey brings him both risks and also oppportunites. Therefore, Turkey should take rational politic and economic steps. Turkey should plan long-term strategies for its economic and political strength both in the region and in the world.

According to Brezzinski; this geopolitical structure of Turkey, makes Turkey to stand more close with USA (Oral&Unal, 2017: 951). Therefore, in oil and natural gas supply Turkey should ensure its energy security road safely from any foreign threat. This issue is an indispensable matter for Turkey to gain its economic and political strength over other countries when it is regarded with today's critical military conjuncture. Due to the crisis and political turmoils in the Middle East, this factor brings also risks for Turkey in long – term economic and politic perspectives.

5.2. TURKEY'S ENERGY DEPENDENCY

In terms of energy, Turkey is mostly dependent on to foreign energy resources. Especially, in terms of oil and natural gas. This reality deeply effects the Turkish

Foreign Policy. Turkey is following a kind of pipeline diplomacy in its near geography, to overcome this dependency. The dependency in energy cause Turkey to be dependent economically to foreign countries, especially Russia. Actually in the annexation of Crimea by Russia, it can be seen how energy card can be used as a weapon by Russia. Turkey is now trying to follow an integrated energy policy in its geography. Turkey's "hub" role is very important and can bring Turkey in a regional supra-power position in the near future. The recent political developments in the region, especially in Syria had proved that how Turkey is an important partner and actor for both Russia and USA.



Source : (www.aa.com.tr)

The figure 5.1. shows Turkey's energy dependency. It also shows how Turkey is dependent to gas import but mostly to Russia.

5.3. TURKEY & THE SECURITY COMPLEX THEORY

According to *RSCT*(*regional security theory*); Turkey sits as an insulator state position where at the intersection of different security complexes, without being any part of them. Especially in regard of energy lines and the Syrian issue, Turkey's role is increasing. Turkey sits at the margins of three regional intersection geography which cause Turkey in a complex of security(Öğütücü, 2014: 8)

- Europe (including Balkans)
- Middle East (including Mediterrean- Levant, Gulf and Maghreb)
- Ex – Soviet (including Belarus, Ukraine, Russia Fed., Caucasus and Central Asia)

The Bosphorus in Dardanelles and İstanbul have geostrategic transit importance. Turkey could only be a global power, if He succeed to become a regional power. Therefore, He should intensify its security relations. For instance, although Turkey is not a member of EU , Its importance in terms of Syrian migration dispute was understood by European Union. Thus, European Union security is partly depends on Turkey's policy tendency about Syrian migration program.

The end of The Cold War ended up the sharp dividing lines between Europe and Asia. After the dissolution of Soviet Union; the potential connection happened between Asia and Europe and this again increases Turkey's geographical location importance (Barrinha,2002: 16). The increased attention was given to pipeline energy routes. Energy issue is a very important matter for Turkey and tied up to its foreign policy.

Turkey is the land bridge between the M.East, the Caucasus, Central Asia and Europe. The end of The Cold War had lead Turkey to create alternative routes for its foreign policy measures. The mutual dependence in energy had forced countries to develop new political strategies. Thus, the political stability in the close circle geography of Turkey is very critical. This will only could happen if the geopolitical competition replace with geopolitical cooperation. These geopolitical variables combined with energy interests have put Turkey at the centre of this international issue of paramount importance. It is exactly what Russia, Iran and Turkey is trying to success in Syria now. The term "security community" in international relations has been trying to settle in Syria conflict. Today's liberal economic policies made multinational companies to cooperate more easily through international borders. Companies such as Gazprom, Saudi Aramco, BP and etc...

The figure 5.2. shows some energy projects which Turkey's transit role is apparent

Figure 5.2.: Turkey's Energy "Hub" Role



(Source : www.alternateturk.com)

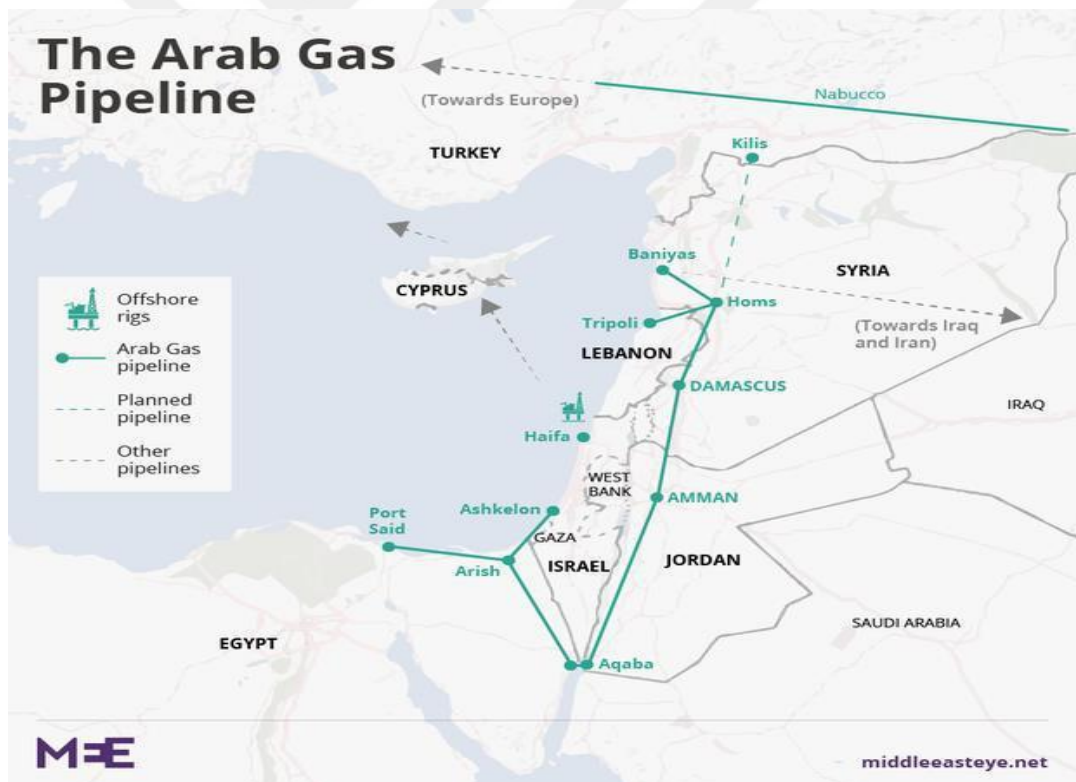
Turkey's geopolitical location brings itself in a very important energy corridor route. It can be called as "**energy hub**". Turkey can use this energy card and can become a very powerful country in the following years. Turkey's geopolitic location as a bridge force him to play a critical role in where %70 of oil and gas reserves exist (Middle East & Caucasus).

Therefore global super-power actors play their energy game in these areas. Turkey's **transit route** role is an important subject. Turkey's geopolitical status brings itself in a pivotal transit area. Turkey as the other countries He uses the natural gas which is imported from Russia. Besides that, without the permission of Russia Turkey can not export these gas to the other any third countries.

During The Cold War Era, Turkey presented the Southern Wing of NATO against the Soviet Communism threat. Today, Turkey is still a NATO member but its geographical location and relations with Russia is very sensitive and hard. In July 2010, the Turkish Parliament approved a bill on an intergovernmental agreement between Russia and Turkey for the construction of Turkey's first nuclear power plant in Akkuyu, a town in Mersin province. The first reactor will be generate electric in 2019. (Z.Onis & S.Yılmaz,2016: 15).

When it is observed the last developments in Turkish Foreign Policy it is seen that Turkey's asymmetrical interdependence to Russia is increasing, like other neighbour states of Russia. Most of these agreements are based on the principle of “buy or pay” . Today, when it is compared, Turkish Foreign Policy with the time of during Mr. Davutoglu , its foreign policy is much more pragmatic and nationalist now. During the first years of AKP Government, the Europeanization and good relations were exist toward European Union. However it seen that , all these are changed with the invasion of Syria and the issue of immigrants to Turkey. However Syria's key role in the Arab Gas Pipeline explains why it is now being targeted by USA and other coalition powers. Throughout the history, the regions where rich natural and energy resources exist had turned into a battle area in where strong countries wanted to control.

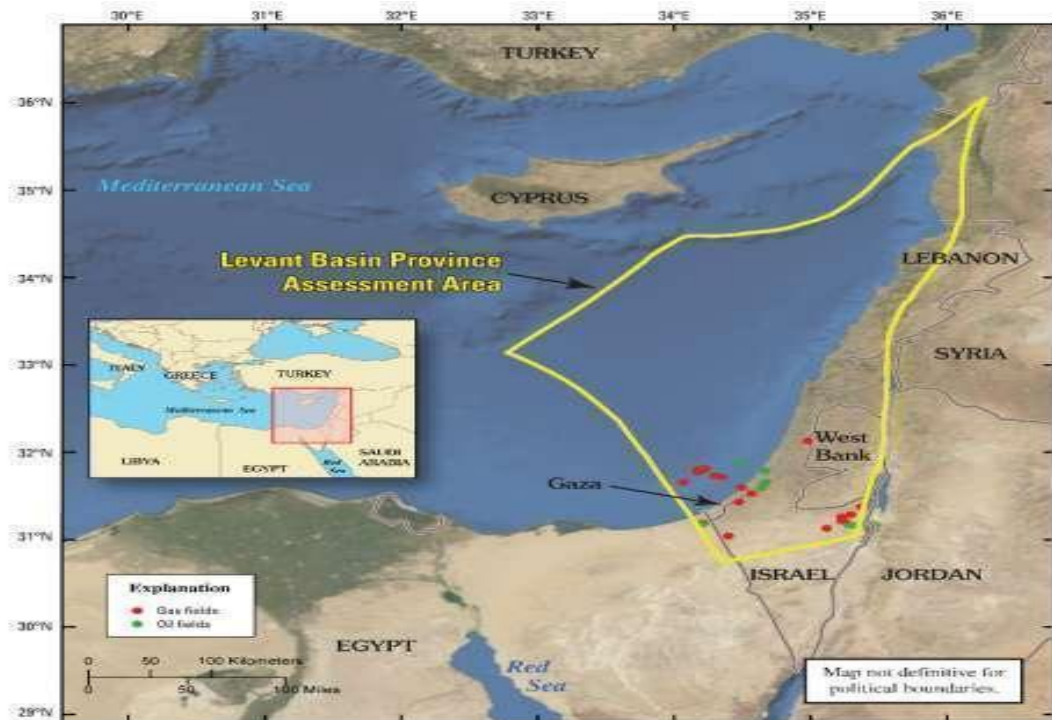
Figure 5.3.: Syria's Geopolitical Importance



Source :(www.middleeasteye.net)

The figure 5.3. shows above shows the connection of Egypt-Syria and Turkey gas lines. Syria is also important for Israel because of his ensuring gas in Eastern Mediterrean Sea.

Figure 5.4.: Syria And Mediterranean Sea



Source :(globalresearch.ca)

Syria's geopolitical importance is critical for both Israel, Turkey and other Arab Countries. The gas search of Israel and its distribution and also political unity of Syria are the potential issues for Turkey in the near future. Leviathan gas might be helping Ankara to decrease its dependence on expensive Russian gas and volatile Iranian gas. The search for new natural gas resources in Eastern Mediterranean Sea by Greek Cypriot side might be new foreign political issue between Turkey and Greek side both side wants that these resources should be shared equally by each side. According to the 10th development plan of Turkey, the total natural gas supply in Turkey will be 50,2 billion m³ in 2018 (Engin & Bilgehan, 2014: 2). The transfer of natural gas from these areas to Europe only can be solved between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. In addition to that, Turkey and Israel are the other actors. The Eastern Mediterranean Sea plays an important role for Turkey to be more effective in the international conjuncture. In that respect, the resolution of Cyprus Issue the offshore maritime regions have been elaborated within the context of joint federal authority.

The Turkish Cypriots have demanded potential future income share; nonetheless no agreement has been settled yet. However, Turkish and Israeli

ministries negotiated on developing a natural gas pipeline project. In these days, the terrorist group actions in Iraq and Syria and their close relations with Russia and USA, make Turkey in a more uncomfortable and hard situation. Besides that the refugee crisis with EU is disturbing Turkey.

As a result; Turkey is an important country for politically, economically and in military sense. All these different dimensional roles makes Turkey an actor with surroundings in security complexes with: – Europe, Middle East and former Soviet region and also in most of their sub-complexes – the Balkans, Levant, Gulf, Maghreb, Caucasus and Central Asia. With its one of the top ten most developed economy in the world and second biggest army in NATO, Turkey's "supra-regional" power role is increasing. Therefore, Turkey; instead of avoiding from the security issues around him, Turkey should directly involve the security issues around him and by this way, He should turn the obstacles into political opportunities and economical advantages. The dissolution of USSR, had lead to form a political gap in the South Caucasus region. The countries such as; Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia became important independent actors.

5.4. TURKEY'S PIPELINE POLICY

Turkey's strategic bridge role appears with the some pipeline projects. The central terminal energy status of Turkey is very critical. Almost %70 of the world's oil and gas reserves are just located in the surrounding geography of Turkey. Pipelines offer a cheaper and efficient way for transporting oil and gas. Pipelines play an active role in ensuring national and energy securities of the countries. After the end of The Cold War most states had started to research for energy reserves and had developed new strategical policies to secure their energy need. In that respect, Turkey's transit corridor role through pipelines had become more geopolitically important. Therefore, it had been very necessary for Turkey to build up new pipelines through international borders. This, will strengthen Turkey's hand in both its relations with neighbours and also relations with in world policy. The East- West energy corridor only can be secure with a politically and economically strongful Turkey. The pipeline projects will help Turkey to play regional and global effective role as a transit country in world energy market. This great energy game is being played now and both USA and Russia are the head actors.

Figure 5.5.: Oil –Gas Reserve And Market Balance



Source :(globalresearch.ca)

After the end of The Cold War, the distribution of oil and gas reserves from Central Asia and Caucasus to the world market, some projects were developed by countries. In respect of energy security, Turkish Straits and coastal points have geopolitically important. In both natural gas and oil demand of EU, Turkey’s transit role is very critical for EU and other global powers such as Russia and USA .

Figure 5.6.: Turkish Oil & Gas Pipelines



Source :(ae-al.org)

Turkey has been resisting against Southern Cypriots about search of natural gas reserves in Eastern Mediterranean without solving the problem of Cyprus. After the Blue Marmara Conflict with Israel, Israel started to influence Greece to stand with

USA, had started the construction of BTC project. It is an oil transport line .With this project large volume of crude oil is carried from Caspian to Turkey.

This project is eliminating Russia and therefore it is supported by USA, so Russia is against this project . The value of the project is about 4 billion \$ and it transports 1 million barrel per day(Aydm , 2012 : 220). The project has been active since 2006 and strengthened the position of Azerbaijan and Georgia because of its transport route. The figure below, shows BTC project through pipelines which starts from Baku and ends with Ceyhan. With this project Europe and NATO had succeeded to eliminate Russian factor. With the project , it is estimated that the 50 million tonne oil will be carried to Ceyhan (Aydm , 2012 : 220). This pipeline project will increase the geopolitical importance of Turkey in the world. The pipeline had started in October 2013. The pipeline has been active since 2016. The pipeline carries 1 million barrels a day from the Caspian sea, which contains the world's third-largest oil and gas reserves(abdel-Hassan ,2018 :74). The British oil company BP is the leading actor in the project.

Figure 5.8.: Btc Pipeline Route

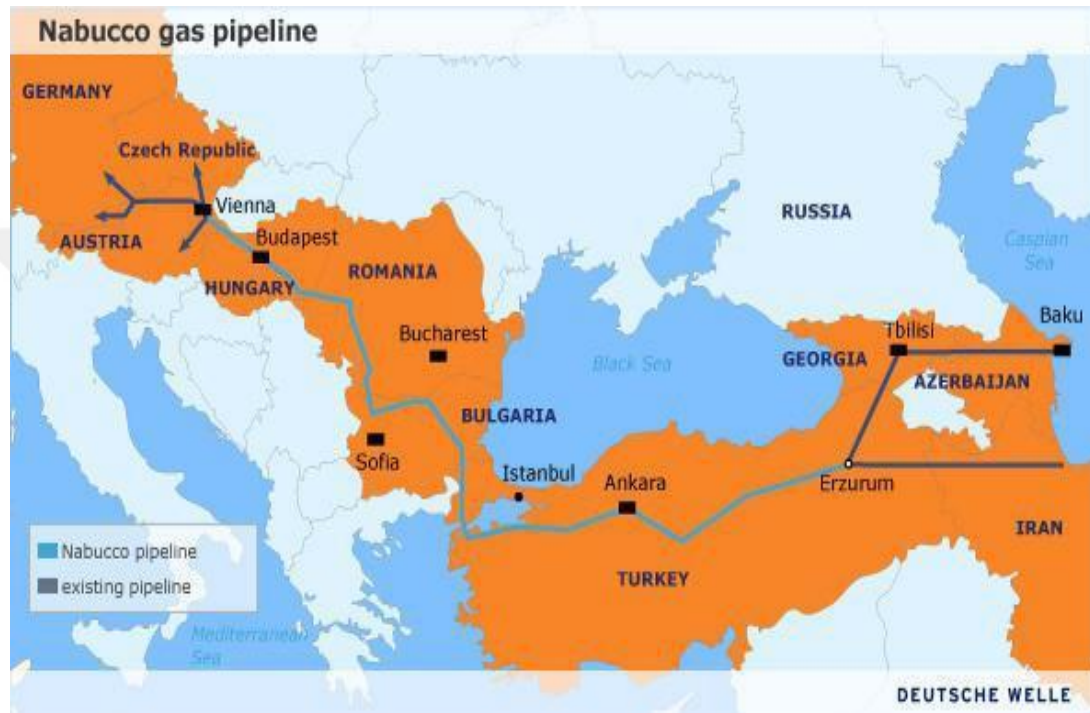


Source : www.google.com

The figure 5.8. show aboe shows the BTC Pipeline route and oil lines.

C. NABUCCO : It was signed in 2009. The Caspian Basin gas from Iran and Georgia to Turkey. The flow of natural gas continue with the direction from Turkey-Bulgaria-Romania Hungary and Austria. EU supports this project because and this project will break its dependency to Russia. However, this project is no longer in agenda because it was replaced by TANAP Project which is in force now.

Figure 5.9.: Nabucco Pipeline Project



(Source : www.naturalgasintel.com)

This project which is shown in here is not in force now.

B. BTE PROJECT : A natural gas pipeline project which flows through Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum. With this project Azerbaijan can open itself to Europe with the key role of Turkey. This pipeline project also increases the geopolitical importance of Turkey in the world. The pipeline project was signed between BOTAS and SOCAR in 2001. The natural gas flow have been active since 2007. The estimated gas flow will be 6,5 billion m³ to Azerbaijan to Turkey(www.enerji.gov.tr). Together, with these projects Turkey's artery key role increased between European Union and Turkey. It carries 6.6. billion cubic meter of gas annually to Turkey (Abdel-Hassan,2018:74). Russian monopoly over export routes had been broken by this project.

Figure 5.10.: BTE Pipeline Project



(Source : www.google.com)

The figure 5.10. shows the BTE line transit route .

- A. TANAP:** It was signed by Turkey and Azerbaijan in 2011. This project starts from the border of Georgia and passing 20 cities of Turkey and at last end in province of city Edirne called, İpsala. The main goal of the project is to carry the natural gas from South Caspian Sea to the Turkey and reach to Europe. TANAP project helps Turkey wants to carry Ashgabat gas to Europe. Therefore, this project increase one of the most important project of Euroasia corridor. This project brings Turkey an advantage for playing both transit and importer of Baku gas. Therefore, Turkey might be an energy hub for Eurasia. BOTAŞ has %30 shareholder in this projects. The financial value of the Project is 9,2 billion\$ (KISACIK & KAYA ,2017 : 97).Thus, TANAP will be so important for Ankara to be the one of Eurasia’s energy hubs.

Figure 5.11.: TANAP Pipeline Route



Source : (www.offshoreenergy.com).

The figure 5.11. shows pipeline route of TANAP

TANAP project with its starting point from Baku, Azerbaijan and ends in Albania. With this project Europe will break its energy dependency to Russia. The all financial support of this project will be done by only Turkey and Azerbaijan. The Azerbaijan company SOCAR , Turkish company BOTAS and Britain company BP are the shareholders. The first gas flow will start in 2018. The estimated gas flow will be 23 million m³(Nuray Erdoğan, 2017:17). This project will help Azerbaijan to open his way to Europe because of this project. Russia always wants to control all energy corridors, so He is very disturbed with this TANAP project. The natural gas which will be pumped from this project will be %12 cheaper than gas which Turkey imports from Russia. Today , The Project is about to be completed. The first test flow will be done at the begging of 2018 . For this reason, Turkey will be the country who will open the energy valve to Europe in 2020. This situation will make Turkey an important actor in the our geography.

- **IRAQ-TURKEY(KERKÜK-CEYHAN-YUMURTALIK) PIPELINE** : It was started in 2007 . The project will be expired 10 years more. This project could not be efficient because of the war and crisis in Iraq.

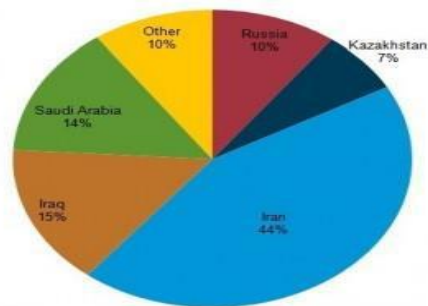
- After the invasion of Iraq by USA in 2003 its capacity has been decreased year by year due to the terror attacks and political instabilities in the country.
- Turkey's financial loss was more than 100 billion dollar.
- **TURKEY-EGYPT NATURAL GAS PROJECT** : It is about the flow of Egypt natural gas to Turkey. It was signed in 2001, between Egypt and Mediterranean Gas Company.
- **TR-GREECE-ITALY(TGI PROJECT)** : It was signed in 2007. It is between BOTAŞ-DEPA-EDISON . The gas flow from Turkey to Greece.

Due to the lack of energy reserves in Turkey, our country develops its foreign policy strategy according to find new energy diversities. For Instance , in the recent years Turkey had intensified its relation with Shangai Cooperation Org. which have a huge economic energy resources/trade volume and military power. However , when consider of Turkey's importer status and large energy needs and think about Russia as a exporter of energy to Turkey there is *asymmetrical dependence* between Turkey and Russia. According to Neo-realists, political factors can shake or break these good relations. Especially, the war in Syria and the ethnic restructuring of Kurdish Groups in the region can face to face both Russia and Turkey. Therefore, the political conditions will determine these good economic relations. When it is analysed it can be seen that the energy cooperation between Turkey and Russia these asymmetrical dependence can cause Turkey become more politically and economically dependent to Russia in the near future. However, when it is realized that this status from Russian perspective, Turkey's geopolitical location provides advantage could take advantage for both Russia and Turkey. Turkey's transit energy corridor status is a very important chance for Russia to open its energy corridor to Europe . As a result Russia geopolitically need Turkey to sell his energy potential to outside the country. Russia does not want to loose Turkey who has a advantage of geopolitical energy corridor as a good customer for its foreign energymarket.

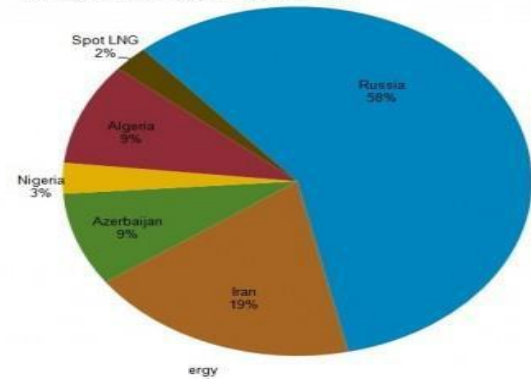
According to new projections, it is estimated that, Turkey's energy need will be 125 million oil per/tonne value in 2023 (Abbasgil,2016: 69). Turkey satisfy its %55 energy need from outside today (Abbasgil, 2016: 72).

Figure 5.12.: Turkey's Oil & Gas Imports

Share of Turkey's crude oil imports by country, January-September 2012



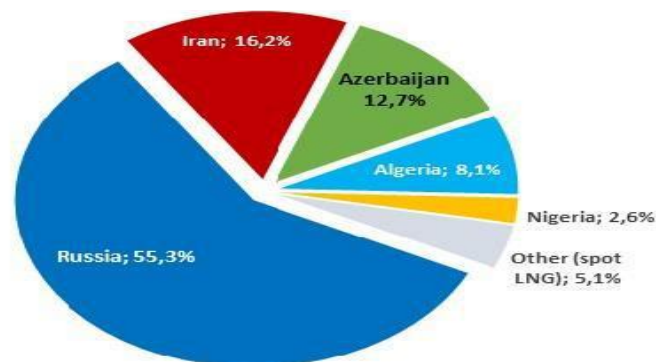
Turkey's natural gas imports, 2011



Source : (www.forumonenergy.com)

The figure 5.12. shows the Turkey's import share of oil and natural gas for each countries during the year of 2011 and 2012 .

Figure 5.13: Turkey's Gas Imports



Source : (www.mfa.gov.tr)

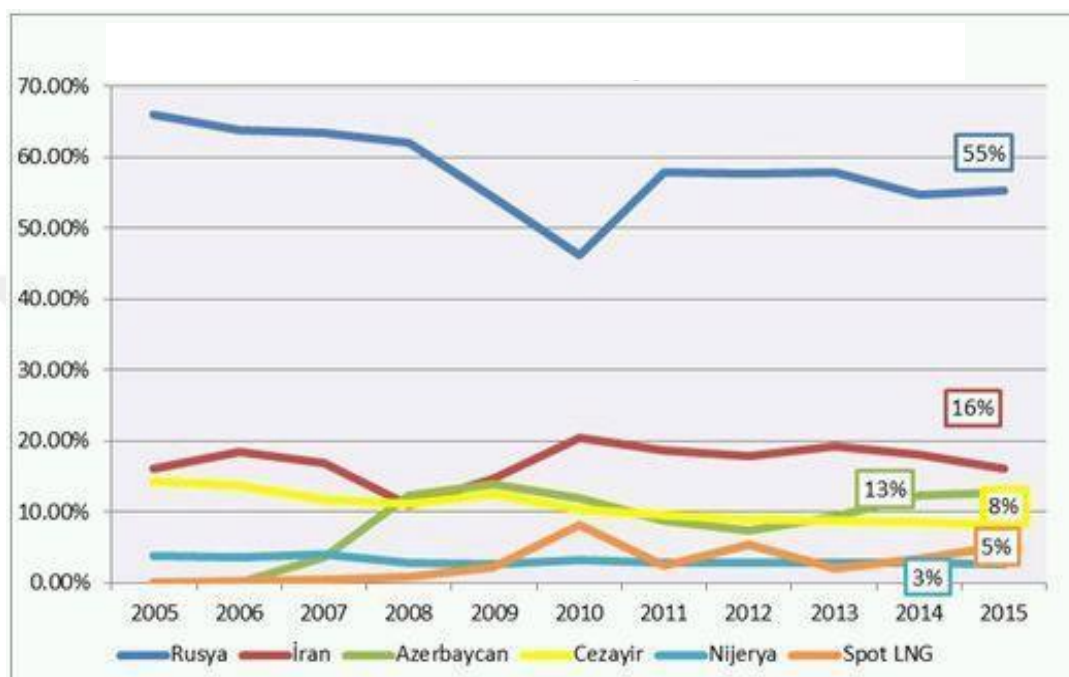
The figure 5.13. shows Turkey's natural gas import share per country in the year of 2015.

5.5. TURKEY'S ENERGY RELATIONS WITH IRAN

The financial value of trade between two states had reached 820 million dollar (SETA Analiz, 2015 Sayı: 132). The political relations were increased during AKP government. The Energy cooperation between Tehran and Ankara increased. Today, Iran is considered to be 2nd largest provider of Turkey's energy needs. Turkey as a regional power, plays a buffer state role between Russia-Iran – USA and West

Blocks. Despite the sanctions which were applied to Iran, Turkey is still the largest costumer of Iranian gas. In terms of last developments in Syrian War, it seems that Iran and Turkey's role in the region is so important. The cooperation of Iran – Russia and Turkey and Turkey's alignment with Washington ,and Ankara plays a more extensive role in the Syrian issue.

Figure 5.14: Turkey's Natural Gas Imports By Country



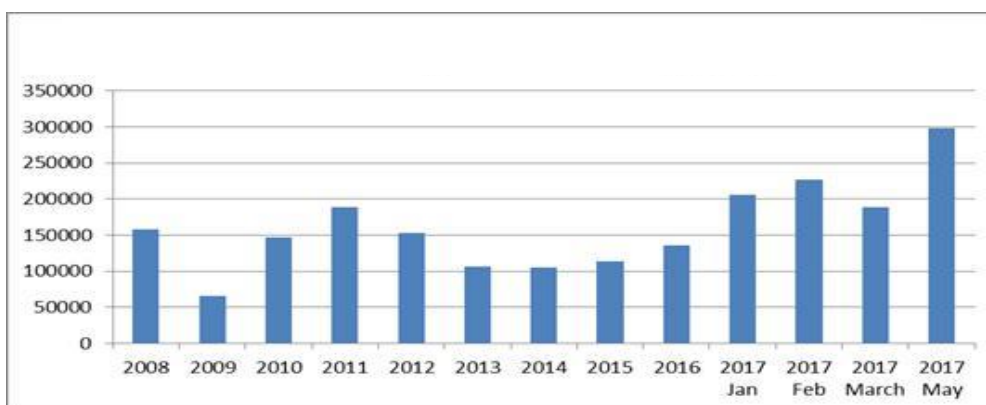
Source :(www.mondaq.com)

The figure 5.14. shows Turkey's gas import percentage per countries. Russia holds the biggest share of all. Iran shares the 2nd supplier status of Turkey.

Especially the import of energy from Iran had increased during the years of 2011 and 2012 (SETA Analiz , 2015 Sayı:132). This rate was decreased after 2011. The reason of this decrease was the embargo which Western Countries and USA had applied to Iran. USA is mainly disturbed from close relations between Turkey and Iran in the region. Iran is the second biggest natural gas supplier of Turkey.

The %90 of the natural gas which Iran is selling is purchased by Turkey (SETA Analiz , 2015 Sayı:132). After Russia, Iran has the 2nd second biggest natural gas reserves in the world. However the high price in Iranian gas forced Turkey to move to Russia. USA does not want Turkey and Iran cooperation especially in the regions of Basra and Caspian Sea. USA always had been accused Turkey of violating international agreements.

Figure 5.15.: Iran's Oil Export To Turkey



Source : (www.azernews.az)

The figure 5.15. shows the Iran's export of oil to Turkey. The export rate is getting increased year by year. Turkey is expected to increase its trade volume to 100 billion dollar with Iran (Seta Analiz , 2015 Sayı :132).

5.6. BLACK SEA & CASPIAN SEA WITH JEOPOLITICAL POWER BALANCE

Today, globalization term is mostly used by Global Powers to get hegemony over rich natural resources in the different regions of the world. Turkey 's foreign policy in the region to secure new energy supplies and to act as a transit country since 1990s. Eurasia is the main strategic center of the world. To diversify energy supply, many energy strategies are being developed by states. Therefore, both countries who have energy resources and countries who have in huge energy demand are developing new strategies.

In today's diplomacy , economic cases are became more important. Energy is a decisive factor in the foreign policies of states. Due to the unstable political structure of the Middle East ,world energy focus is directed to other regions which have rich oil and gas reserves such as Caspian Basin. The Caspian Basin is a geopolitically strategic point for the state's energy security.

After the end of The Cold War, Black Sea Region had become a security, competition and a hegemonic battle arena especially by USA-NATO and on the other side Russia. According to Montreux Straits Contract the states who have not coastal boundary in this basin can not establish military deployment in the region. However, both US and EU oppose this situation and want to change this situation. The geopolitical status of Black Sea is not only important for Turkey but also important for every state and Russia. The close economic cooperation between Russia and

Turkey also continues in Black Sea Economic Cooperation. The East-West energy corridor which Black Sea basin (Çomak, 2014: 81). The collapse of Soviet Union had caused the formation of new geographic power gaps in former Soviet Republic regions where the Soviet Union had controlled most of it. The Black Sea Basin with its intersection point, it provides connection both in Caspian Sea, Europe, Middle East and Central Asia. Therefore, its political and economical control brings many advantages to states. Russia wants the control of energy resources in the Caspian Basin and its export to the world market. Therefore, for Russia the control of energy transit routes and also countries such as Belarus, Moldova, Ukraine and even Turkey is important (Cabbarlı, 2017 :51). In this respect, the geopolitical transit route line of Black Sea become crucial. Russia does not want countries such as Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia to be a member of NATO or EU. Because these geographic areas are the corner stones for Russia to export its energy resources. Therefore, Russia does not want these countries to act politically independent from him. For example, in the crisis with Russia and Georgia about South Osetia-Abkhazia in 2008, and the annexation of Crimea in 2014 Russia had proved this argument. It is clear that, because of the geopolitical importance of Black Sea there is a big polarization between West and Russia. Therefore, it is clear that this political polarization is going to increase in the next decade.

This potential of Black Sea Basin increases the Turkey's strategical and geopolitical supremacy over the neighbour countries (Bilgin, 2013: 182). The transportation of gas from Russia, Black Sea plays a great role. In terms of energy security perspective, Black Sea from north to south and from east to west. Therefore, the political role of Turkey is increasing with this geopolitical status especially by becoming an energy corridor and being a bridge between East and West. The formation of regional cooperations such as BSEC, SCO and EU for the sharing of these resources and reserves. The Black Sea Basin symbolizes a power center which Asian and European sides are connected (Abbasgil, 2016: 69). Turkey is in a position to play an important role for the transfer of oil and gas from the Middle East, Central Asia and Russia to Europe and the Atlantic.

According to theorists, if a state can control the Caspian Basin, He can be the leader of Euroasia and could control all the heaterland. The annexation of Crimea by Russia in 2013, had been a turning point of a global power struggle with USA. Due

to the its geopolitical structure the Black Sea Basin extends from Bulgaria , Romania to Europe , with Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan to Central Asia, lastly with Iran to Middle East. The security of energy flow through states and the issue of who will do this transfer action and sharing of energy sell is a big dispute among global powers. Turkey's chairmanship of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) Energy Club in 2017 as a non-SCO country in the organization is an important development for future energy strategies.

The oil production in the region , is being estimated that will be reach to 308 million tonne in 2020 (Aydın, 2012: 208). Due to the closed structure of Central Asia and its no connection with international seas the transportation of the gas and oil is problematic. The countries in the region such as ; Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, and Kazakhstan have rich oil and natural gas reserves. However, the closed structure of the Caspian Sea and being not a open international sea status are still and international dispute. These issues causes problems about which littoral country will have the right to use these resources and in which proportion He will use. Due to the legal status of Caspian Sea, the distrubiton of oil and gas from this region is stil problematic.

Because of the its closed structure and having not any connection with international seas, The International Sea Law can not be aplyed to Caspian Sea. For this reason, Russia, Iran and Turkmenistan had claimed that international Sea Law can not be applied to Caspian Sea. However, on the other hand Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan is claiming that it is an open sea.

Figure 5.16: The Geopolitical Importance Of Caspian & Black Sea



Source :(www.wikitravel.org)

The importance of energy resources in the region , necessitate that the political stability in the region. Russia regards the region as its backyard. On the other side, both USA and NATO does not want Russia to establish its hegemony in the region. The geopolitical importance of Caucasus (being just in the middle of Caspian Sea and Black Sea , the open gate of Russia to Middle East) exposes itself to the external interventions. The region became a place where many energy companies had worked.

Figure 5.17: Caspian Sea Basin



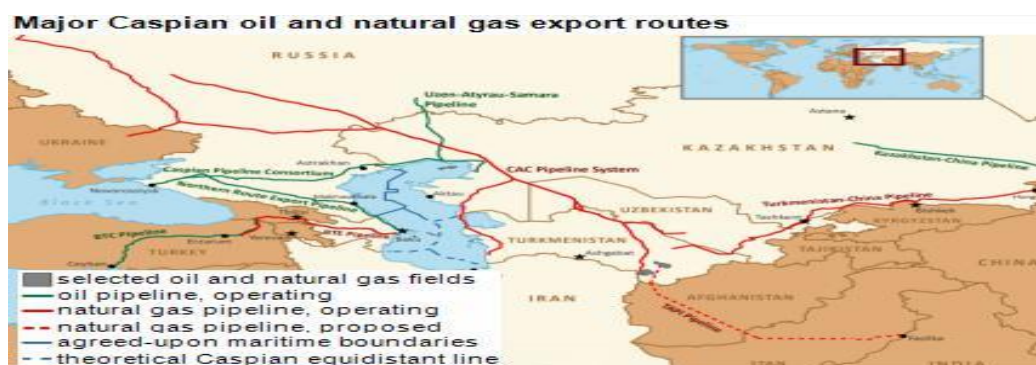
Source :(www.nation.com.pk)

Caucasus also can be given as an example of *RSC Theory*. After the dissolution of Soviet Union the geographical power gap in the region. The South Caucasus , the relations especially in energy terms, mostly 3rd actors are involved. The countries in the region can not develop independent foreign policies apart from Russia and USA.

The reason for this is the rich oil and gas resources in the region. Especially in terms of Nagorno-Karabakh dispute, Armenia-Azerbaijan and Russian triangle relations are so fragile. Armenia is a strategic military partner of Russia. Armenia is also a member of Collective Security Treaty Organization since 2002 (CSTO),(Collective Security Treaty was signed in 1992 by Russia, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan aftermath the collapse of Soviet Union and since 2004 (Ögütçü,2014 :8). On the other hand, Azerbaijan is a important member for NATO. Azerbaijan mostly trying to develop its energy strategy projects through Turkey and USA. In addition to that, He is very disturbed from close relations between Russia and Armenia especially in Nagorno-Karabakh issue.

In terms of Nagorno Karabakh dispute, while Turkey and Azerbaijan have close consensus but Armenia and Russia are on the other side. Regional Security Complex theory is an important to understand the regions emerged after the collapse of Soviet Union. This theory can be implemented relations among countries in the former-Soviet Union are complex ones with many different ethnical groups, conflicts, border issues and disputes (Ögütçü, 2014: 10). Sometimes these differences cause problems and therefore affect the nature of the relations. The countries in the Caucasus Region are dependent on each other in terms of both energy resources, trade relations and the role of external actors.

Figure 5.18: Caspian Oil & Gas Export Routes



Source :(www.eia.gov.)

The figure 5.18 shows the main energy routes in Caspian region.

Caspian Sea has a key role for Turkey to open into the Central Asia. The sharing of energy resources in the region still a debate between countries in the region and also for USA (Özkan, 2010: 7). After the end of The Cold War ,The formation of power gaps in the region had led global states and neighbour states to develop new strategises for gaining energy resources of the region (Cabbarlı, 2017 : 57). The transfer of oil and natural gas from the region countries such as Russia, China, and Turkey plays a critical role. The transport of oil and gas from this region is a term of competition area for both Russia and USA. Consequently, Turkey's important energy corridor position at the center of Eurasia will effect the geopolitical developments. Turkey follows a kind of balance of power strategy between Russia and USA in the region. However, with last 15th July FETO/PDY Coup and following investigations, Turkey has been following a more closer policy with Russia than USA for two years. Russia regards the region as its backyard and wants to increase its political effects by using energy resources in the region.

SIXTH CHAPTER CONCLUSION

In this study, the energy and its projections in the world economy and politics with the special subject Turkey's foreign policy have been explained.

In the first chapter; energy was shortly defined and its reflections and effects in the international relations were shortly explained. In the second chapter; how energy and geopolitics are interconnected with each other were shown. In the third chapter; the relations between energy, finance and security were explained. The regional powers such as Iran and Saudi Arabia were analysed and historical background of developments in international energy events and crisis were explained. In the fourth chapter; the foreign energy policies of global actors' were studied. In the last chapter; Turkey's regional role and geopolitical importance were tried to be explained with the help of understanding the *RSC*(regional security) Theory. Turkey's insulator role and how can be a global power were explained.

Energy is today at the core of the world economy and in international agenda with and its effects and influences in the world policy both economically, socially and in military terms. A demand in energy and energy scarcity in the world, forces all the global actors to follow a different foreign strategy and power struggle. Therefore , energy has directional affects in international politics, economy and social life. The geopolitical aspects of energy and in security perspectives all their reflections are being seen in daily social life and in international politics. According to IEA datas, in the next following thirt years the world mostly satisfy its energy needs through fossil fuels (natumal gas & oil).

However, the energy policies of the states causing vicious circle and national political stability of the nations are being threatened. In addition to this, the energy battle is causing armament race in the world. The political competition for possessing energy resources leads the formation of new energy security gaps After the end of The Cold War, with the dissolution of USSR there has been a power gap in the regions such as Caucasus ,Central Asia and Eastern Europe. Therefore, USA had

started to follow a foreign policy for settling its political hegemony in these regions. On the other hand, Russia had started to use his energy card with the close cooperation with Iran, and with the other global powers such as China to protect its dominance in this region, especially as Mackinder defends the same ideology in Eurasia. As a result of these, regional powers such as Turkey had been forced to follow a kind of balance of power strategy between Russia and USA.

In addition to all of these, foreign policy strategies also cause how and by whom all these rich energy reserves will be transported and shared were also had been questioned. From this point of view, it can be easily understand the power struggle in international relations. As realism always argues that; the power and interest as a basic instruments of the states still shows itself from the energy card window . As a result of globalization; workings in energy search, energy transfer and energy investments are getting increase. The consumption rate in the coal, gas and oil will be increased which is so much related with economic development until 2020.

The global world is connecting through energy agreements and pipelines. This leads to new world blocks and rivalries among the world. Each energy agreement with its pipeline projects come with its partner countries. These agreements bring some countries an economic advantage and political hegemony over other countries. Energy flow with the pipelines leads to shape global power blocks in today's world. These can be easily seen in Ossetia and Ukraine crisis. Today, this sharing and reaching the energy resources together with its new shape of the world will bring new confrontations between states. Russia, China, India in one side and on the other side USA with NATO and Europe are being cut with a knife through pipelines.

The global actors such as; USA and China are mainly dependent to the outside energy resources and therefore, the regional powers such as Turkey and Russia become more critical actors in this energy flow aspect. In this respect, areas such as Middle East, Central Asia and Caucasus can become a battle and confrontation arena. As the geostrategist Mahan and Mackinder says; the hegemony over lands and oceans are critical for global powers to win this global energy game. The last international developments since the start of Syrian War, national powers have been trying to settle a Kurdish State and energy corridor in the lands of Syria. The future of economic and geopolitical developments are not easy to predict. Especially some corner points such as Suez Canal or Hormuz and Bab-el Mandeb Straits became

geostrategically important for the oil flow to Europe and USA. These transition points can be Ukraine or Georgia it does not matter. The global powers such as Russia and USA do not want to lose their control especially in Eurasia and in the Middle East.

The future of global politics will be the *energeopolitic*. This new future will be shaped by the most important key term called energy. In this new era, the name of the game is ‘‘energy’’ and the players are states and also international actors. All international actors will involve according to their capabilities which will have capability to challenge and also change the current world political order. This new era may remove all current political coalitions and can emerge new powers.

This new energy cold wars accelerate the formation of new international blocs and organizations. The countries like *BRICS* (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) are the nominees as a new global power against the bipolarity power of USA. Besides that, the economic organizations such as Shanghai Cooperation Organization will serve the oil needs of China as a big consumer. In one of the summit of this organisation in 2007, Vladimir Putin declared that ‘ One polar world is not acceptable any more’’.

Finally, the importance of OPEC countries still exist when it is remembered the crisis during late 1970’s also companies such as Exxonmobil, Gazprom are the new powerful actors of this new era in the future. Therefore, the world politics with its leaders will more focus on energy and its allocations by whom and against whom. Their focal point will be possession of energy and every actor will choose its partner in this international battle.

As Mahan and Mackinder argues, the control of the Eurasia will determine the winner of the energy-game wars in the near future. To become a global power; Turkey first of all should be a regional power in its geography (as stated in Regional Security Theory). This can be only happen when Turkey succeeded to use its geographical importance through energy card. Especially the energy dependency of Europe forces European countries to find new energy routes and import destinations. This factor is going to help Turkey to act as a transit country. The energy corridor role of Turkey will increase its international importance in the world politics.

Turkey should follow new international developments and changings in international political conjuncture. The energy monopoly of Russia and dependency of

European Union to Russia is also forcing European countries not to be able to develop a common energy policy. In the light of RSC Theory Turkey can not be a global actor unless He succeed to be a regional power. In the following years the competition in energy wars will force Turkey to behave more active than today. Turkey should play its “Energy Hub” role effectively to hold its strategical power. In regard of this world energy equation, Turkey is working on to determine its energy policy. In spite of not being an energy producer , still Turkey’s transit role makes him an indispensable actor in world politics. As the RSCT(Regional Security Theory) argues Turkey’s insulator position and become a regional power is important issue. In terms of energy connections , Turkey’s geopolitical status is very important for energy opportunities.

The transit and “hub” role of Turkey is both a political and economical opportunity and on the other hand a potential risk for Turkey in the near future. This is essential for Turkey to solve its foreign policy problems in this new conjuncture. In the sense of energy, economic depressions and crisis had been effected all countries throughout the world and might be happen again. Turkey is mainly import its energy demand, however its geostrategic location of being in the crossroads and in the heart of rich energy resources such as Middle East and Central Asia will make its global importance higher. The demand for energy is very important, especially in terms of economic development. Therefore , Turkey should avoid from being dependent to one state in terms of energy.

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ÖZGEÇMİŞ

Zeynel Abidin POLATTAŞ 1978 yılında Gaziantep’te doğdu. Yeditepe Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Siyaset Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümünden 2003 yılında mezun oldu. Zeynel Abidin POLATTAŞ iş hayatına Gaziantep Büyükşehir Belediyesi bünyesinde devam etmektedir. İyi derecede İngilizce bilmektedir.

VITAE

Zeynel Abidin POLATTAS was born in Gaziantep in 1978. He graduated from Yeditepe University the Department of Political Science and International Relations, Faculty of Economical Administration in 2003. He keeps his carrier in Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality in Gaziantep. He knows English at an advanced level.





